

*Libris Jo: Gray: Past: Abbat*  
King JAMES  
*ma Religions (HIS) Imitari Quæ*  
*Colis*  
APOLOGY.

FOR THE  
OATH  
OF  
*Allegiance and Supremacy;*  
Against the Two *Breves* of  
Pope PAULUS QUINTUS,  
And the late Letter of  
Cardinal BELLARMINE.  
TO  
G. BLACKWEL, the Arch-priest.

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*Tunc omnes populi clamaverunt & dixerunt,  
Magna est Veritas, & prævalet. Esdr. 3.*

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*Authoritate Regiâ.*

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A N

# APOLOGIE

FOR THE

*Oath of Allegiance.*



What a monstrous, rare,  
nay, never heard of  
Treachurous attempt  
was plotted within  
these few years here in England,  
for the destruction of Me, my  
Bed-fellow, and our Posterity,  
the whole house of Parliament,  
and a great number of good Sub-  
jects of all sorts and degrees: is  
so famous already through the  
A 2 whole

a Gen.  
4. 10.

whole world by the Infamy thereof, as it is needlesse to be repeated or published any more the horror of the sin it self doth so loudly proclaime it. For if those a crying Sinnes (whereof mention is made in the Scripture) have that Epithet given them for their pubique infamy and for procuring, as it were with a loud cry from heaven a just vengeance and recompence and yet those sinnes are both old and too common, neither the world, nor any one Country being ever at any time cleane voyd of them: If those sinnes (I say) are said in the Scriptures to cry so loud; What then must this sin doe, plotted without cause; infinite in cruelty; and singular from all examples? What proceeded hereupon is likewise notorious to the whole world; or  
Justice



Justice onely taking hold upon the Offenders, and that, in as honorable and publique a form of Tryall, as ever was used in this Kingdome.

2. For, although the only reason they gave for plotting so heinous an Attempt, was the zeale they carryed to the Romish Religion; yet were never any other of that profession the worse used for that cause, as By our gracious Proclamation immediately after the discovery of the said fact doth plainly appeare: onely, at the next sitting downe againe of the Parliament, there were Lawes made, setting down some such orders as were thought fit for preventing the like mischiefe in time to come. Amongst which, a forme of O A T H was framed to be taken by my Subjects, whereby they should make a



clear profession of their resolution, faithfully to persist in their obedience unto me, according to their natural allegiance ; To the end that I might hereby make a separation, not onely between all my good Subjects ; In generall, and unfaithfull Traitors, that intended to withdraw themselves from my obedience ; But specially, to make a separation between so many of my Subjects, who, although they were otherwise popishly affected, yet retained in their hearts the print of their naturall duty to their Sovereign, and those, who being carryed away with the like fanaticall zeale that the Powder Traytors were, could not containe themselves within the bounds of their naturall Allegiance, But, thought diversity of Religion, a safe pretext for all kinde

kinde of treasons, and rebellions  
against their Sovereign. Which  
godly and wise Intent God did  
blesse with successe accordingly :  
For, very many of my Subjects  
that were popishly affected, as  
wellpriests, as layicks, did freely  
take the same Oath : whereby,  
they both gave me occasion to  
think the better of their fidelity,  
and likewise, freed themselves of  
that heavy slander, that, although  
they were fellow-professors of  
one Religion with the Powder-  
Traytors, yet, they were not joy-  
ned with them in treasonable  
courses against their Sovereign ;  
whereby all quietly minded Pa-  
pists were put out of dispaire ,  
and I gave a good prooffe, that I  
intended no persecution against  
them for conscience cause , But,  
only desired to be secured of  
them for civill obedience, which



for conscience cause they were bound to perform.

3. But the devill could not have devised a more malicious trick for interrupting this so calme and clement a course, then fell out By the sending hither, and publishing a *Breve* of the Popes, countermaunding all them of his profession to take this Oath; Thereby sowing new seeds of jealousie between me and my Popish Subjects, By stirring them up to disobey that lawfull commandement of their Sovereign which was ordained to be taken of them as a pledge of their fidelity; And so, By their refusall of so just a charge, to give me so great and just a ground for punishing of them, without touching any matter of Conscience: throwing themselves needlessly into one of these desperate straits; either  
with



with the losse of their lives and goods, to renounce their Allegiance to their naturall Sovereign; or else, to procure the condemnation of their Souls By renouncing the Catholick faith, as he alleadgeth.

4. And on the other part, although disparity of Religion (the Pope being head of the contrary part) can permit no Intelligence nor intercourse of messengers between mee, and the Pope: yet, there being no denounced War between us, hee hath by this action broken the rules of common civility and justice between Christian Princes, In thus condemning me unheard, both, by accounting me a persecutor, which cannot be but Implied by Exhorting the Papists to endure Martyrdome; as likewise, By so straitly commanding all those of

his Profession in England, to refuse the taking of this Oath, thereby refusing to professe their naturall obedience to me their Soveraign. For, if he think himselfe my lawfull Judge, wherefore hath he condemned me unheard? And, if he have nothing to doe with me, and my Government, (as indeed he hath not) why doth hee *mittere falcem in alienam messem*, to meddle between mee and my Subjects, especially, in matters that meerly and onely concerne civill obedience? And yet could *Piscus Quintus* in his greatest fury and avowed quarrell against the late Queen, doe no more injury unto her; then he hath in this case offered unto me, without so much as a pretended or an alleged cause. For what difference there is, between the commanding



manding Subjects to rebell, and loosing them from their Oath of Allegiance, as *Pius Quintus* did; and the commanding of Subjects not to obey, In making profession of their Oath of their dutifull Allegiance, as this Pope hath just now done: no man can easily discern.

5. But, to draw near unto his *Breve*, wherein certainly he hath taken more paines then he needed, By setting down in the said *Breve* the whole body of the Oath at length; whereas, the onely naming of the Title thereof, might as well have served, for any answer he hath made thereunto (making *Vna litura*, that is, the flat and generall condemnation of the whole Oath, to serve for all his refutation) Therein having as well in this respect, as in the former, dealt both undiscreeetly.



creetly with me , and injuriously with his owne Catholicks. With me, In not refuting particularly what speciall words hee quarrelled In that Oath ; which if he had done, It might have been that for the fatherly care I have, not to put any of my Subjects to a needles Extremity, I might have been contented, In some sort, to have reformed, or interpreted those words, with his owne Catholicks ; for either, If I had so done, they had been thereby fully eased in that businesse; or at least If I would not haue condescended to have altered any thing in the said Oath, yet would thereby some appearance or shadow of Excuse have been left unto them for refusing the same : not as seeming thereby to swarve from their Obedience and Allegiance unto me , But onely, being stay

ed from taking the same upon  
the scrupulous tenderneſſe of  
their conſciences, In regard of  
thoſe particular words which  
the Pope had noted, and con-  
demned therein.

And now ~~let us hear~~ the words  
of his thunder.

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POPE

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Pope P A U L U S  
The [redacted], to the  
English Catholicks.

The Pope  
his first  
Breve



El-beloved Sons  
Salutation and  
Apostolicall Be-  
nediction. The tri-  
bulations and calamities, which  
ye have continually sustained  
for the keeping of the Catho-  
lick Faith, have alwayes af-  
flicted us with great grieve of  
minde. But for as much as we  
understand, that at this time all  
things



things are more grievous, our affliction hereby is wonderfully increased: For, we have heard, how you are compelled, by most grievous means, to set before you, the Churches of Heretics, to frequent their assemblies; to be present at their Sermons. Truly we doe undoubtedly beleve, that, they which with so great constancy and fortitude, have hitherto indured most cruell persecutions, and almost infinite miseries; that they may walke without spot in the Law of the Lord; will never suffer themselves to be defiled with the communion of those that have

have forsaken the divine Law  
Yet notwithstanding, being com-  
pelled by the zeale of our Pa-  
storall Office, and by our Fa-  
therly duty, we doe con-  
tinually for the salvation  
of your soules, are enforced to  
admonish and desire you, that  
by no meanes you come unto  
the Churches of the Hereticks  
or hear their Sermons, or com-  
municate with them in their  
Rites, lest you incurre the  
wrath of God. For these things  
may yee not doe, without inda-  
maging the worship of God  
and your own salvation. And  
likewise, you cannot without  
most evident and grievous  
Wrong



pronging of Gods Honour,  
binde your selves By the Oath,  
which in like manner we have  
heard with very grieve of our  
heart is ~~as follows~~ to you,  
of the tenor ~~as follows~~ written.  
viz.

The Oath.

I A. B. doe truely and sincere-  
ly acknowledge, professe, te-  
stifie and declare in my consci-  
ence, before God and the world,  
that our Sovereign Lord King  
*James* is lawfull King of this  
Realme, and of all other his Ma-  
jesties Dominions and Coun-  
treys: And that the *Pope*, nei-  
ther of himselfe, nor by any  
authority of the Church or See  
of *Rome*, or, by any other meanes  
with any other, hath any power  
or Authority to depose the King,  
or to dispose of any of his Ma-  
jesties

jesties Kingdoms or Dominions  
 or, to authorize any forraign  
 Prince to invade or annoy him  
 or his Countries, or, to discharge  
 any of his Subjects of their Al-  
 legiance due to his  
 Majesty, or Licence to  
 leave to any of them to bear  
 Armes, raise tumults, or to offer  
 any violence or hurt to his Ma-  
 jesties Royall Person, State or  
 Government, or, to any of his Ma-  
 jesties Subjects within his Ma-  
 jesties Dominions. Also I do swe-  
 from my heart, that, notwith-  
 standing any declaration or sen-  
 tence of Excommunication, or de-  
 privation made or granted, or  
 to be made or granted, by the Po-  
 pe or his Successors, or by any Au-  
 thority derived, or pretended  
 to be derived from him, or his Se-  
 against the said King, his Hei-  
 or Successors, or any Absoluti-



of the said Subjects from their  
Obedience; I will bear Faith  
and true Allegiance to his Ma-  
jesty, his Heirs and Successors,  
and him, and them, will defend to  
the uttermost of my power, a-  
gainst all Conspiracies and At-  
tempts whatsoever which shall  
be made against his, or their Per-  
sons, their Crown and Dignity,  
by reason or colour of any such  
sentence, or declaration, or o-  
therwise, and will doe my best  
endeavour to disclose and make  
known unto his Majesty, his  
Heirs and Successors, all Trea-  
sons and Traiterous Conspira-  
cies, which I shall know or hear  
of, to be against him or any of  
them. And I doe further sweare,  
That I doe from my heart ab-  
hor, detest and abjure as impious  
and Hereticall, this damnable  
doctrine and Position, that Prin-  
ces

ces which be Excommunicated, or  
deprived by the *Pope*, may  
deposed or murthered By the  
Subjects, or any other whatsoe  
ver. And I doe Beleewe ; and  
In conscience am resolved, that  
neither I nor any person  
whatsoever hath power to  
solve mee of this Oath, or any  
part thereof ; which I acknow  
ledge By good and full Auth  
rity to be lawfully ministred  
to mee , and doe renounce  
pardons and dispensations to  
contrary. And all these things I  
plainly & sincerely acknowle  
and swear, according to these  
press words by mee spoken, and  
according to the plain and com  
mon sense and understanding  
the same words, without any  
quivocation, or mentall evasion  
or secret reservation whatsoe  
ver. And I doe make this Re  
cogniti



ognition and acknowledgement,  
heartily, willingly and truely,  
upon the true faith of a Christi-  
an. So helpe me God.

Which things since they are  
thus; it must evidently appear  
unto you by the words them-  
selves, That such an Oath can-  
not be taken without hurting  
of the Catholick Faith, and the  
salvation of your Soules; see-  
ing it containes many things  
which are flat contrary to Faith  
and Salvation: Wherefore, we  
doe admonish you, that you doe  
utterly abstaine from taking  
this, and the like Oaths: which  
thing we doe the more earnest-  
ly require of you, because we  
have

have experience of the Constancy of your Faith, which tryedlike Gold in the fire of perpetuall Tribulation. We doe well know, that, you willingly undergoe all kind of cruel Torments whatsoeuer yea, and constantly endure death it selfe, rather then you will any thing offend the Majesty of God. And this our Confidence is confirmed by those things which are daily reported unto us, of the singular vertue, valour and fortitude which in these last times doth no less shine in your Martyrs, then it did in the first beginning of the Church. Stand therefore you



our Loins being girt about  
with verity, and having on the  
Brest-plate of righteousness,  
taking the Shield of Faith, bee  
strong in the Lord, and in  
the power of his might; And  
let nothing hinder you. Hee,  
which will crown you, and doth  
Heaven behold your Conf-  
essions, will finish the good work  
which he hath begun in you.  
You know, how hee hath pro-  
mised his Disciples, that hee  
will never leave them Orphans:  
for, hee is faithfull which hath  
promised. Hold fast therefore  
his correction, that is, Being  
rooted and grounded in Chari-  
ty, whatsoever yee doe, what-  
soever

soever ye indeavour, doe it with  
one accord, in 'simplicity  
Heart, in meekness of Spirit  
without murmuring, or doub-  
ing. For, by this doe all men  
know that wee are the Disci-  
ples of Christ, if we have Love  
one to another. Which Charity  
as it is very greatly to be de-  
sired of all faithfull Christi-  
ans; So certainly it is alto-  
gether necessary for you, my  
blessed Sons. For, by this your  
Charity, the power of the Devil  
is weakned, who doth so much  
assaile you, since that Power  
his is especially upheld by the  
Contentions and Disagree-  
ment of our Sons. We exhort



his first Breve.

23

you therefore by the bowels of  
our Lord Jesus Christ, by  
whose Love we are taken out  
of the Jaws of Eternal Death,  
That above all things, you  
should have mutual Charity a-  
mong you. Surely, Pope Cle-  
ment the eighth of happy me-  
mory, hath given you most pro-  
fitable Precepts of practising  
brotherly Charity one to ano-  
ther, & in his Letters, in form  
of a Breve, to our welbeloved  
Son M. George Arch-priest of  
the Kingdom of England, da-  
ted the 5. day of the moneth of  
October, 1602. Put them  
therefore diligently in pra-  
ctise, and be not hindred by

B

any

any difficulty, or doubtfulneſſe.  
We command you, that ye do  
exactly obſerve the words  
thoſe letters, and that ye take  
and underſtand them ſimply  
they ſound, and as they lie;  
power to interpret them other  
wiſe, being taken away. In the  
mean while, we will never  
cease to pray to the Father  
Mercies, that he would with  
pity behold your afflictions and  
your pains; And that he would  
keep and defend you with his  
continual Protection: Whom  
we doe gently greet with our  
Apoſtolical Benediction. Dat  
ted at Rome, at S. Mark, under  
the Signet of the Fiſh



man, the tenth of the Calends  
of October, 1606. the second  
year of our Popedom.



THE ANSWER  
to the first Breve.

First, the *Pope* expresseth here-  
in his sorrow for that Perse-  
cution which the Catholicks su-  
tain for the Faiths sake.  
Wherein, besides the main un-  
truth, whereby I am so injuriou-  
ly used, I must ever avow and  
maintain, as the truth is accord-  
ing to my own knowledge, that  
the late Queen of famous me-  
mory, never punished any Papist  
for Religion, But that, their own

punishment was ever extorted out of her hands against her wi by their own misbehaviour which, both the time and circumstances of her actions will manifestly make proof of. For, before *Pius Quintus* his Excommunication, giving her over for prey, and setting her Subjects liberty to rebell, it is well known she never medled with the blood or hard punishment of any Catholick, nor made any rigorous laws against them. And since that time, who list to compare with an indifferent eye, the manifold intended Invasions against her whole Kingdom; the forraign practices; the internal publick rebellions; the private plots and machinations, poysonings, murthers, and all sorts of devises, *et quid non?* daily sent abroad; and all these Wars continually



continually fostred and fomented  
from *Rome* ; together with the  
continuell corruption of her Sub-  
jects, as well By temporall bribes,  
as By fair and specious promises  
of eternal felicity ; & nothing but  
book upon book publickly set  
forth by her fugitives, for appro-  
bation of so holy designs : who  
will, I say, with an indifferent eye,  
look on the one part, upon  
those infinite & intolerable temp-  
tations, and on the other part, up-  
on the just, yet moderate punish-  
ment of a part of these hainous  
offenders ; shall see, that, that  
refunct Lady was as free  
from persecution , as they shall  
see these hellish Instruments  
from the honour of martyr-  
dom.

5. But now, having sacrificed  
(if I may so say) to the *Manes*  
of my late Predecessor , I may

next, with *S. Paul*, justly vindicate  
my own fame, from those innumerable  
calumnies spread against me, In testifying the truth of  
behaviour toward the Papists  
wherein I may truly affirm, that  
whatsoever was her just and  
mercifull Government over  
Papists In her time, my Government  
over them since, hath far  
exceeded hers, In mercy and  
clemency, as not onely the Papists  
themselves grew to that height of  
pride, In confidence of my mildness,  
as they did directly expect  
& assuredly promise to themselves  
liberty of conscience, and equality  
with other of my Subjects in  
all things; But even a number  
the best and faithfullest of  
said Subjects, were cast into  
great fear and amazement of  
course and proceedings, especially  
prognosticating, and justly  
spect



correcting that sowre fruit to come  
it, which shewed it self clear-  
in the Powder-Treason. How  
many did I honor with Knight-  
hood, of known and open Re-  
bels? How indifferently did  
I give audience, and access to  
both sides, bestowing equally  
favours and honors on both  
professions? How free and con-  
dual access, had all ranks and  
degrees of Papists in my Court  
and Company? And above all,  
how frankly and freely did I free  
prisoners of their ordinary pay-  
ments? Besides, it is evident, what  
order was given out of  
my own mouth to the Judges, to  
execute the execution of all Priests,  
notwithstanding their convicti-  
on joyning thereunto a gracious  
proclamation, whereby all  
priests, that were at liberty, and  
taken, might goe out of the  
country

country by such a day : my  
 neral pardon having been exte  
 ed to all convicted Priests in  
 son : whereupon they were  
 at liberty as good Subjects :  
 all Priests that were taken a  
 sent over and set at liberty the  
 But time and paper will fail  
 to make Enumerations of all  
 benefits and favours that I  
 stowed In generall, and parti  
 lar, upon Papists : In recount  
 whereof, every scrape of my  
 would serve but for a Elot of  
 Popes Ingratitude and Injust  
 In meting me with so har  
 measure for the same ; So  
 think, I have sufficiently , c  
 least, with good reason wi  
 the \* *tears* from the Popes e  
 for complaining upon such  
 secution, who, if he had been  
 politickly wise, although he  
 had no respect to Justice

\* *Magno*  
*cum animo*  
*maerore,*  
*&c.*

Ver



Herity, would have in this com-  
plaint of his, made a difference  
between my present time, and  
the time of the late Queen, & so  
by his commending of my mode-  
ration, Inregard of former times,  
might have had hope to have  
moved me to have continued in  
the same clement course. For, it is  
true saying, that alledged kind-  
ness upon noble minds, doth ever  
work much : And for the maine  
truth of any persecution in my  
time, it cannot be proved, that,  
any were, or, are put to death  
since I came to the Crown, for  
cause of Conscience : Except  
that, now this discharge given by  
the Pope to all Catholicks to  
take their Oath of Allegiance  
to me, be the cause of the due  
punishment of many : which if  
it fall out to be, let the Blood  
fall upon the Popes head,

who is the onely cause thereof.

The In-  
tendment  
of this dis-  
course.

As for the next point contained in his *Breve* concerning the discharge of all Papists to con-  
to our Church, or frequent of  
Rites and Ceremonies, I am  
to meddle at this time with the  
matter, because, my Errand now  
only is to publish to the world the  
injury & injustice don unto me  
discharging my Subjects to make  
profession of their obedience unto  
me. Now, as to the point where the  
oath is quarrelled, it is set down in  
few, but very weighty words  
with wit, *That it ought to be clear unto  
all Catholicks, that this oath cannot  
be taken with safety of the Catho-  
lick Faith, and of their Sa-  
lute, since it containeth many  
things that are plainly and direc-  
tly contrary to their faith, & salu-  
tion.* To this, the old saying  
the



gathered upon the Philosopher may  
 very fitly be applyed, *Multa di-*<sup>a Concor-</sup>  
<sup>ding Mo-</sup>  
*git, sed pauca probat* : nay indeed, *sic.*  
*Nihil omnino probat.* For, how  
 the profession of the natural Al-  
 legiance of Subjects to their  
 Prince can be directly opposite  
 to the Faith and Salvation of  
 Souls, is so far beyond my simple  
 reading in Divinity, as I must  
 think it a strange and new Asser-  
 tion, to proceed out of the  
 mouth of that pretended general  
 Pastor of all Christian Souls. I  
 would have indeed; and not in one, or  
 two, or three places of Scripture,  
 that Subjects are bound to obey  
 their Princes, for conscience sake,  
 whether they were good, or wick-  
 ed Princes. So said the people  
 to Joshua, *As we obeyed Moses*  
*in all things, so will we obey thee.* \* Josh. 1.  
 17.  
 So the Prophet commanded ~~the~~ <sup>17.</sup>  
 the people to obey the King of <sup>Jer. 27.</sup>  
 Babel. <sup>12.</sup>

Babel, saying, Put your neck  
under the King of Babel, and serve  
him, and his people, that ye may  
live. So were the Children

\* Exod. 5. Israel unto \* Pharaoh, desiring  
1. him to let them goe: So that

\* Ezra. 1. Cyrus, obtaining leave of him  
3. to return to build the Temple: and

In a word, the Apostle willed  
\* Rom. 13. men to be subject to the higher  
5. powers, for conscience sake. Agreeable

to the Scriptures, did the  
others teach. \* Augustine speaking  
\* August. of Julian, saith, Julian  
in cyf. P sal. an unbelieving Emperor:  
124. not he an Apostata, an Oppressor,  
and an Idolater? Christian Soldiers

served that unbelieving  
Emperor: when they came to the  
cause of Christ, they would  
knowledge no Lord, but him  
is in heaven: When he would  
have them to worship Idols  
to sacrifice, they preferred God



before him : But when he said, goe  
forth to fight, invade such a Na-  
tion, they presently obeyed. They  
distinguished their eternall Lord  
from their temporal, and yet,  
were they subject even unto their  
temporal Lord, for his sake that  
was their eternal Lord and Ma-  
ster. \* Tertullian saith, A Chri-  
stian is enemy to no man, much  
less to the Prince, whom he know-  
eth to be Appointed of God : and  
of necessity must love, reve-  
rence and honour him, and wish  
him safe, with the whole Roman  
Empire, so long as the world shall  
last : for so long shall it endure.  
We honor therefore the Emperor  
in such sort, as is lawfull for us,  
and expedient for him, as a man,  
the next unto God, and obtaining  
from God whatsoever he hath, and  
only inferiour unto God. This the  
Emperour himselfe would : for, so

\* Tertul.  
ad Scap.

is he greater then all, while he  
inferiour onely to the true God

\* Iust.  
Martyr  
Apol. ad  
Ant. im-  
perat.

\* Justine Martyr; We only adore  
God, and, in all other things  
cheerfully perform service to  
professing that, you are Emperors  
and Princes of men. \* Ambro

\* Amb. in  
or at cont.  
Auxilium  
de basilicis  
iraden. ba-  
bent lib.  
5. Epist.  
Amb.

I may lament, weep, and sigh  
My tears, are my weapons against  
their arms, souldiers, and  
Goths also: such are the Wea-  
pons of a Priest: Otherwise, ne-  
ther ought I, neither can I re-  
sist

\* Optat.  
contra  
Pammen. 3  
\* Greg.  
Mag. Epist.  
lib 2. in-  
dct. 11.  
Epist. 61.

\* Optatus; Over the Emperors  
there is none but only God, that  
made the Emperor. And \* Gre-  
gory, writing to Mauritius about  
a certain Law, that a Souldier  
should not be received into  
Monastery, *nondum expleta m-  
litia*, The Almighty God, saith he  
holds him guilty, that is, not w-  
right to the most excellent Emp-  
ror in all things that he doth,

Speakes



*he speaketh. And then calling him-  
G himself the unworthy servant of his  
ad godliness, goeth on in the whole  
his pistle, to shew the Injustice of  
that Law, as he pretendeth: and  
ere the End concludes his Epistle  
of with these words; I being sub-  
ject to your command, have caused  
the same Law to be sent through  
the verse parts of your Dominions:  
And because the Law it selfe doth  
not agree to the Law of the Al-  
mighty God, I have signified the  
same, by my letters to your most Ex-  
cellent Lordship: so that on both  
Parts. I have paid what I ought:  
because, I have yeilded obedience  
to the Emperor, and have not  
bolden my peace, in what I thought  
for God. Now, how great a con-  
trariety there is, Betwixt this an-  
cient Popes action in obeying the  
Emperor By the publication of  
his Decree, which in his own  
conscience*

conscience he thought unlawfull  
 and this present Popes prohibition  
 on to a Kings Subjects from audience  
 unto him in things morall  
 lawful, & meer temporal; I refer  
 it to the Readers Indifference  
 And answerably to the Fathers  
 spake the Councils, in their  
 decrees. As the Council of \* Ar  
 submitting the whole Council  
 to the Emperor In these words  
*These things we have decreed  
 be presented to our Lord the Em  
 peror, beseeching his Clemency  
 that, if we have done less then  
 ought, it may be supplied by  
 wisdom: If any thing otherwise  
 then reason requireth, It may  
 corrected by his judgement:  
 any thing be found fault with  
 us with reason, it may be perfected  
 by his, aid with Gods favorable  
 assistance.*

\* Council.  
*Arelatense*  
*sub Carolo*  
*Magno.*  
*Can. : 6.*

But, why should I speak

Ch



Charles the great, to whom not  
the Council, But six several  
Councils, *Frankford, Arles,*  
*Mours, Chalons, Ments, and Rhemes*  
did wholly submit themselves?  
and not rather speak of all the  
General Councils, that of *Nice,*  
*Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalce-*  
*dron,* and the four other common-  
so reputed, which did submit  
themselves to the Emperors wise-  
dom and piety in all things? In-  
much, as that of *Ephesus* repea-  
ed it four several times, *That,*  
*they were summoned by the Empe-*  
*rs Oracle, beck, charge and com-*  
*mand, and betook themselves to*  
*his Godliness: \* beseeching him,*  
*that the Decrees made against*  
*Nestorius, and his followers, might*  
*by his power have their full force*  
*and validity, as appeareth mani-*  
*festly in the Epistle of the general*  
*Council of Ephesus, written ad*  
*Augustos.*

\* Vide E-  
pistolam  
generalis  
Conc. E-  
phes. ad  
August.

*Augustos.* I also reade, that Christ  
 \* *John* 18. said, *His \* Kingdome was not of*  
 36. *this World,* Bidding, *Give toll*  
 \* *Mat.* 22. *Cæsar what was Cæsar's, and*  
 21. *God what was Gods.* And I ever  
 held it for an infallible Maxime  
 in Divinity, That temporal obedi-  
 dience to a temporal Magistrat  
 did nothing repugne to matters  
 of faith or salvation of souls. But  
 that ever temporal obedience  
 was against faith and salvation of  
 soules, as in this *Breve* is alledg-  
 ed, was never before heard nor  
 read of in the Christian Church.  
 And therefore, I would have  
 wished the *Pope*, before he had  
 set down this commandement  
 all Papists here, That, since  
 him is the power By Infallibilitie  
 of his Spirit, to make new Articles  
 of Faith, when ever it shall please  
 him; he had first set it down  
 for an Article of Faith, before



had commanded all Catho-  
ks to Believe and obey it. I  
ll then conclude the answer to  
s point, in a *Dilemma*.

Either, it is lawful to obey *Question.*  
e Sovereign in temporal things,  
not.

If it be lawfull (as I never  
ard nor read it doubted of)  
en, why is the *Pope* so unjust,  
d cruel towards his own  
atholicks, as to command them  
disobey their Sovereigns law-  
ll commandement?

1.

If it be unlawfull, why hath  
e neither expressed any one  
use or reason thereof, nor  
et will give them leave (nay  
ther, he should command and  
erswade them in plain terms)  
ot to live under a King unto  
whom they ought no obedience.

2.

And as for the vehement ex-  
ortation unto them to perse-  
vere

Answer to  
the Popes  
exhorta-  
tion.

vere in constancy, and to  
Martyrdom, and all tribulation  
for this cause; It required  
other answer then onely  
That, if the ground be  
whereupon he hath comman-  
ded them to stand, then  
hortation to constancy is  
cessary: but, if the ground  
unjust and naught (as in  
it is, and I have in part  
ready proved) then, this  
hortation of his, can worke  
other effect, then to make  
guilty of the Blood of so  
many of his sheep, whom he  
thus wilfully cast away,  
onely to the needless loss  
their lives, and ruine of  
families, But even, to the  
ing on of a perpetual slander  
on all Papists; as if no zealous  
Papist could be a true  
subject to his Prince; and



profession of that Religion,  
 the Temporal obedience  
 the Civill Magistrate, were  
 things repugnant and in-  
 compatible In themselves. But,  
 Information, and untrue  
 reports (which being carryed  
 far as between this and  
 Rome, cannot but increase by  
 way) might have abused  
 the Pope, and made him dis-  
 seminate this *Breve* so rashly. For,  
 that great City, Queen of the  
 world, and as themselves,  
 confess \* mystically *Babylon*,  
 cannot but be so full of all  
 kinds of Intelligencies. Besides,  
 complainers (as the Catho-  
 licks here are) be naturally  
 prone to exaggerate their own  
 faults, and multiply there-  
 on. So that it is no won-  
 der, that, even a just Judge  
 sitting there, should upon wrong  
 Infor-

*Fama vi-  
 res acquiri  
 tundo.*  
  
*\* Eusebius,  
 Oecumenius  
 and Leo  
 hold, that  
 by Baby-  
 lon i Pet.  
 5. 13.  
 Rome is  
 meant, as  
 the Rho-  
 mists  
 themselves  
 confess*

Information give an unrighteous sentence: as some of our own party doe not stick to confess, That *Pius Quintus* was too rashly carryed by wrong Information, to pronounce his thunder of Excommunication upon the late Queen. And it may be, the excuse shall hereafter be made for the two *Breves*, which *Clemens Octavus* sent to our land immediately before her death, for debarring me from the Crown, or any other thing either would profess, or could wayes tolerate the profanation of our Religion; contrary to his manifold vows and protestations, *simul et eodem tempore* and as it were, delivered by *& eodem spiritu*, as diverse of my Ministers abroad, promising such kindness, and shewing

\*See the Relation of the whole proceedings against the Traitorous *Garnet*, and his confederates.



such forwardness to advance  
to this Crown. Nay, the  
most part of Catholicks here,  
reading this *Breve* when it came  
to their hands, to be so far  
from Divinity, policy, or na-  
tural sense, were firmly per-  
suaded, that it was but a coun-  
terfeit Libel, devised in hatred  
against the *Pope*, or, at the farthest,  
something hastily done upon wrong  
information, as was before said.  
which opinion were not only  
of the simpler sort of Papists, but  
in some amongst them of best  
account, both for learning and  
experience; whereof the Arch-  
bishop himselfe was one. But  
in solving of this objection,  
the *Pope* himselfe hath taken  
great pains by sending forth  
a second *Breve*, onely for  
strengthening faith, and confirmation  
of the former: That, whereas  
before,

The Ca-  
tholicks  
opinion  
of the  
*Breve*.

before, his sin might ha  
been thought to have proceed  
ed from rashness and mis  
formation, he will now v  
fully and willingly double  
same: whereof the Copy  
loweth.

---

---



to our Beloved Sons  
the English Catholicks,  
Paulus P. P. *V<sup>tus</sup>*.

Beloved Sons, Salutation and <sup>The se-  
cond</sup> Apostolical Benediction. It Breve.  
reported unto us, that, there are  
and certain amongst you, who,  
even as we have sufficiently de-  
clared by our Letters, dated the  
year, on the tenth of the Ca-  
nds of October, in the form of  
Breve, that ye cannot with safe  
conscience take the Oath which  
is then required of you; and  
even as we have further straitly  
commanded you, that by no  
means ye should take it: yet  
there are some, I say, among you,  
which dare now affirm, that, such  
letters concerning the forbidding  
the Oath, were not written of  
C our

our own accord, or of our proper will, but rather, for respect, and at the instigation of other men. And for that cause the same men do go about to swade you, that our Commandments the said Letters are not to be regarded. Surely, this newes trouble us; and that so much more, because having had experience of your obedience (dearly beloved Sons) who, to end ye might obey this holy have godlily and valiantly temned your riches, wealth, honour, liberty, yea and life if we should never have suspected that the truth of our Apostolic Letters could once be called in question among you, that, by pretence ye might exempt yourselves from our Commandments. But we do herein perceive subtilty and craft of the Enemies



mans salvation, and we do attribute this your backwardness, rather to him, then to your own will. And for this cause, we have thought good to write the second time unto you, and to signify unto you again, That, our Apostolick Letters, dated the last day, on the tenth of the Calends of October, concerning the prohibition of the Oath, were written, not only upon our proper motion, and of our certain knowledge, but also, after long and mighty deliberation used concerning all those things, which were contained in them; and that, in that cause ye are bound fully to observe them, rejecting all interpretation perswading to the contrary. And this is our meer, free, and perfect will, being always carefull of your salvation, and always minding those things,

which are most profitable unto  
And we do pray without cea  
that he that hath appointed  
lowliness to the keeping of  
flock of Christ, would enlighten  
thoughts, and our counsels: now  
we do also continually desire,  
he would increase in you (our  
loved Sons) faith, constancy,  
mutual charity and peace one  
another. All whom, we do  
most lovingly bless with all  
valuable affection.

*Dated at Rome at St. Mark  
under the Signet of the Fifth  
man, the 10 of the Calendar  
September, 1607. in the  
year of our Popedom.*



*The Answer to the second Branch*

Now for this *Breve*, I<sup>c</sup>  
justly reflect his



ase upon him, In terming it  
be *The craft of the Devil.*  
if the Devil had studied a  
usand years, for to finde out  
hischief for our Catholicks  
e, he hath found it In this:  
at now, when many Catho-  
s have taken their Oath, and  
e Priests also; yea, the  
ch-priest himself, without  
punction or sticking, they  
ll not now only be bound to  
se the profession of their na-  
al Allegiance to their Sove-  
gn, which might yet have  
n some way coloured upon  
ers scruples conceived upon  
words of the Oath; But  
y must now renounce and  
fwear their profession of obe-  
nce already sworn, and so  
t, as it were, at the third In-  
ce forswear their former  
Oaths, first, closely sworn,

A double  
Oath of  
every Sub-  
ject.

by their Birth, In their natural Allegiance ; and next, clearly confirmed by this Oath, which doth nothing but Express the same : So as no man can withhold the Faith, or, procure salvation of his soul, in *England* that must not abjure and renounce his Born and sworn Allegiance to his natural Sovereign.

And yet it is not sufficient to ratifie the last years *Breve*, as a new one come forth this year but (that, not only Every year but Every moneth may produce a new monster ) the great famous Writer of the *Controversies*, the late un-Jesuit Cardinal *Bellarmino*, must use his Talent to this good work. By blowing the bellows of sedition, and sharpening the sword to rebellion, By sending such a Letter of his to the Arch-pr



as it is a wonder, how  
fion and an ambitious desire  
maintaining that Monarchy,  
ould charm the wits of so fa-  
ully learned a man : The Co-  
whereof here followeth.



the very Reverend Mr. George  
ackivell, Arch-priest of the  
nglish : Robert Bellarmine,  
ardinal of the holy Church  
Rome, greeting.

Everend Sir, and Bro-  
ther in Christ; it is al-  
t forty years since we did  
ne the other : but yet I have  
er been unmindeful of our  
ent acquaintance, neither  
a I ceased, seeing I could doe  
no other good, to commend

C 4                      your

your labouring most painfull  
in the Lords vineyard, in  
prayers to God. And I doe  
not, but that I have lived  
this while in your memory, &  
have had some place in yo  
prayers at the Lords Altar.  
therefore, even unto this t  
we have abidden, as S. Ioe  
speaketh, in the mutual l  
one of the other, not by w  
or letter, but in deed and tr  
But a late message which  
brought unto us within t  
few dayes, of your bonds  
imprisonments, hath info  
me to break off this silen  
which message, although  
seemed heavy in regard of



which that Church hath received, by their being thus deprived of the comfort of your pastoral function amongst them, yet withall it seemed yours, because you drew near unto the glory of Martyrdom, even the which gift of God there is none more happy; That you, who have fed your flock many years with the word and doctrine, should now feed it more gloriously by the example of your patience. But another heavy tidings did not a little inquiet and almost take away his joy, which immediately followed, of the adversaries assault; and peradventure, of the slip

and fall of your Constancy  
refusing an unlawful Oath  
Neither truly (most dear Brother)  
could that oath therefore  
be lawful, because it was offered  
in sort tempered & modified  
for you know, that those kind  
modifications are nothing else  
but sleights and subtilties  
Satan, that the Catholick faith  
touching the Primacy of  
See Apostolical, might either  
secretly or openly be shot at,  
the which faith so many worthy  
Martyrs, even in that  
England it self, have resigned  
unto blood. For, most certain  
it is, that in whatsoever way  
the Oath is conceived by  
adv



versaries of the faith, in that Kingdom, it tends to this end, that the Authority of the head of the Church in England, may be transferred from the Successor of S. Peter, to the Successor of K. Henry the eighth. For that which is pretended of the danger of the Kings life, if the high Priest should have the same power in England, which hath in all other Christian Kingdoms, it is altogether idle, and all that have any understanding, may easily perceive. For it is never heard of from the Churches infancy until this day, that ever any Pope did command, that any Prince, though an Heretick,

Heretick, though an Ethnick  
 though a Persecutor, should  
 murdered; or did approve  
 the Fact, when it was done  
 any other. And why, I pray you  
 doth onely the King of Eng  
 land fear that which none  
 ther the Princes in Christen  
 dom either doth fear, or ever  
 did fear?

But, as I said, these were  
 pretexts are but the traps and  
 stratagems of Satan: Of which  
 kinde I could produce not a few  
 out of Ancient stories, if I were  
 about to write a book, and not  
 an Epistle. One only for exam  
 ple sake, I will call to your  
 memory. S. Gregorius Nazianzen



azenus, in his first Oration against Iulian the Emperour, reporteth, That he, the more sily to beguile the Christians, and insert the Images of the false gods into the pictures of the Emperour, which the Romans did use to bow down unto with a civil kind of reverence: that no man could doe reverence to the Emperours picture, without he must adore the images of the false gods; whereupon it came to passe that many were deceived. And, if there were any that found out the Emperours craft, and refused to worship his picture, those were most grievously punished, as

as men that had contemned the  
Emperour in his Image. Some  
such like thing, me thinks, I see  
in the Oath that is offered to  
you, which is so craftily com-  
posed, that no man can detect  
Treason against the King, and  
make profession of his civil  
subjection, but he must be con-  
strained perfidiously to deny the  
Primacy of the Apostolick See.  
But the servants of Christ, and  
especially, the chief Priest of the  
Lord, ought to be so far from  
taking an unlawful Oath  
where they may indamage the  
Faith, that they ought to  
beware, that they give not the  
least suspicion of dissimulation  
that



to the Arch-priest.

61

that they have taken it, lest  
they might seem to have left an  
example of prevarication to  
faithful people. Which thing  
that worthy Eleazar did most  
notably performe, who would  
neither eat swines flesh, nor so  
much as faigne to have eaten it,  
though he saw the great tor-  
ments that did hang over his  
head; lest, as he himself spea-  
keth in the second book of the  
Maccabees, many young men  
might be brought through that  
simulation, to prevaricate with  
the Law. Neither did  
Basil the great by his example,  
which is more fit for our pur-  
pose, carry himself less wor-  
thily

*Card. Bellarmines letter*  
*thily toward Valens the Em*  
*roure. For, as Theodoret w*  
*eth in his History, when*  
*Deputy of that heretical Em*  
*roure did perswade Saint Ba*  
*that he would not resist*  
*Emperour, for a little subtile*  
*of a few pointsof Doctrin*  
*that most holy and prudent*  
*man made answer, That*  
*was not to be indured, th*  
*the least syllable of Go*  
*word should be corrupted*  
*but rather all kinde of to*  
*ment was to be imbrace*  
*for the maintenance of t*  
*Truth thereof. Now I suppose*  
*that, there wants not among*  
*you, who say, that they are b*  
*subtilti*



to the Arch-priest.

63

tilties of Opinions that are  
contained in the Oath that is  
sworn to the Catholicks, and  
that you are not to strive a-  
gainst the Kings Authority, for  
such a little matter. But there  
is nothing wanting also a-  
mongst you holy men like unto  
Isaiah the Great, which will o-  
nly avow, that, the very least  
shaking of Gods divine truth is  
not to be corrupted, though  
any torments were to be en-  
dured, and death it self set be-  
fore you. Amongst whom it is  
meet, that you should be one,  
rather, the Standard-bearer,  
and General to the rest. And  
whatsoever hath been the  
cause

cause, that your Constancy hath quailed, whether it be, the suddenness of your apprehension, or, the bitterness of your persecution; or, the imbecillity of your old age: yet we trust in the goodness of God, and in your own long continued vertue, that it will come to pass, that as you seem, in some part, to have imitated the fall of Peter, and Marcellinus, so you shall happily imitate their valour in recovering your strength, and maintaining the truth. For, if you will diligently weigh the whole matter with your selfe, truely you shall see, it is no small matter that is called  
in



*in question By this Oath, But one of the principal heads of our faith, and foundations of Catholick Religion. For hear what your Apostle S. Gregory the great hath written, In his 24. Epistle of his 11. book. Let not the reverence due to the Apostolick See, be troubled by any mans presumption: for then, the state of the members doth remain entire, when the head of the faith is not bruised by any injury. Therefore, by S. Gregories testimony, when they are busie about disturbing, or diminishing, or taking away of the Primacy of the Apostolick See :*

See : then are they busie about cutting off the very head of the faith, and dissolving the state of the whole body , and of all the members. Which self same thing S. Leo doth confirme in his third Sermon of his Assumption to the Popedome, when he saith, Our Lord had a special care of Peter, and prayed properly for Peters faith, as though the state of others were more stable , when their Princes minde was not to be overcome. Whereupon himself in his Epistle to the Bishops of the province of Vienna, doth not doubt to affirme , that he is not



not partaker of the Divine  
Mystery, that dare depart  
from the solidity of *Peter* :  
*who also saith*, That, who thin-  
keth the Primacy to be de-  
nied to that See, he can in no  
sort lessen the authority of it:  
but by being puffed up with  
the spirit of his own pride,  
doth cast himself headlong  
into hel. *These, and many others*  
*of this kind*, I am very sure, are  
most familiar to you : *who be-*  
*sides many other Books*, have  
diligently read over the visible  
Monarchy of your own Sanders,  
a most diligent writer, and one  
who hath worthily deserved of  
the Church of Engl. neither can  
he be

be ignorant, that these most holy and learned men, Iohn Bishop of Rochester, and Thomas Moore, within our memory for this one most weighty head of Doctrin, led the way to Martyrdom to many others to the exceeding glory of the English Nation. But I would put you in remembrance, that you should take heart, and considering the weightiness of the cause, not to trust too much to your owne judgement, neither be wise above that is meet to be wise: and if peradventure your fall have proceeded, not upon want of consideration, but through humane infirmity,

and



and for fear of punishment and imprisonment, yet doe not prefer a temporal liberty to the liberty of the glory of the Sons of God: neither, for escaping a light and momentany tribulation, lose an eternal weight of glory, which tribulation it self doth work in you. You have fought a good fight a long time, you have well-near finished your course; so many years have you kept the faith: doe not therefore lose the reward of such labours; doe not deprive your self of that Crown of righteousness, which so long agoe is prepared for you; Doe not make the faces of so many yours both brethern, and children ashamed. Upon you at this time are fixed the eyes of all the Church: yea also, you are made a spectacle to the world,

70 Card. Bellarmine's letter, &c.

World, to Angels, to men : Doe not  
carry your self in this your last Act  
that you leave nothing but laments  
your friends, and joy to your enemies.  
But rather on the Contrary, where  
we assuredly hope, and for which  
we continually pour forth prayers.  
God, display gloriously the banner  
Faith, and make to rejoyce the Church  
which you have made heavy; so shall  
you not onely merit pardon at God's  
hands, but a Crown. Farewell. Quod  
you like a man, and let your heart  
strengthened. From Rome, the 2<sup>d</sup>  
day of September, 1607.

Your very Reverend  
brother and servant,  
Christ, Robert Bellarmine  
Cardinal.

TH



**A**N D now that I  
am to enter ~~inter~~  
into the field a-  
gainst him by re-  
futing his Letter,  
must first use this protestati-  
on; That no desire of vain glo-  
ry by matching with so learn-  
ed a man, maketh me to un-  
dertake this taske; but onely,  
the care and conscience I have,  
that such smooth *Circes* charms  
and gilded pilles, as full of  
**D** exte-

*An Apologie for*

Exterior Eloquence, as of Inward  
 untruthes, may not have the  
 publike passage through the  
 world without an answer  
 whereby my reputation might  
 vniustly be darkened, By such  
 cloudy and foggy mists of v  
 truthes and false imputation  
 the hearts of vnstayed and sim  
 ple men be mis-led, & the truth  
 it selfe smothered.

A great  
 mistaking  
 of the state  
 of the  
 Question  
 and case  
 in hand.

But before I come to the  
 particular answer of this Let  
 ter, I must here desire the wor  
 to wonder with me, at the  
 committing of so grosse an er  
 rour by so learned a man:  
 that he should have pained hi  
 selfe to have set downe  
 elaborate a letter, for the res  
 tation of a quite mistaken qu  
 stion. For it appeareth, that of  
 English Fugitives, of whose  
 ward societie with him he  
 great



greatly vaunteth, have so fast  
hammered in his head the Oath  
of Supremacie, which hath ever  
been so great a scar unto them,  
as he thinking By his letter to  
have refuted the last Oath, hath  
in place thereof onely paid the  
Oath of Supremacie which was  
most in his head: as a man that  
being earnestly caried in his  
thoughts upon another matter,  
then he is presently in doing,  
will often name the matter or  
person he is thinking of, in place  
of the other thing he hath at  
that time in hand.

For, as the Oath of Suprema-  
cie was devised for putting a  
difference between Papists, and  
them of our profession: so was  
this Oath, which he would seem  
to impugne, ordained for ma-  
king a difference between the ci-  
villy obedient Papists, and the

The dif-  
ference  
between  
the Oath  
of Supre-  
macy, and  
this of Al-  
legiance.

perverted disciples of the power of  
Treason. Yet doth all his Letter  
run upon an Invective against  
the Compulsion of Catholicks  
deny the authority of Saint  
*ter's* Successors, & in place thereof  
of to acknowledge the Successors  
of King *Henry* the eighth.  
For, in King *Henry* the eighth  
time was the Oath of Supremacy  
first made: By him were  
*Thomas Moore*, and *Roffensis* put  
to death, partly, for refusing  
it. From his time till now, have  
all the Princes of this land pro-  
fessing this Religion, suc-  
cessively in effect maintained the  
same: and in that oath, only  
is contained the Kings ab-  
solute power, to be judge of  
all persons, as well Civil as  
ecclesiasticall, excluding all  
foreign powers and Potentates  
to be judges within his Do-



nions : whereas, this last made  
Oath containeth no such mat-  
ter, onely meddling with the  
civil obedience of subjects to  
their Sovereign, in meer tem-  
poral causes.

And that it may the better  
appear, that, whereas by name  
he seemeth to condemne the  
last Oath; yet indeed his whole  
Letter runneth upon nothing,  
but upon the condemnation of  
the Oath of supremacy : I  
have here thought good to set  
down the said Oath, leaving  
it then to the discretion of eve-  
ry indifferent reader to judge,  
whether he doeth not in sub-  
stance onely answer to the  
Oath of Supremacy, But that  
he giveth the child a wrong  
name.

**I** A. B. do utterly testifie and de-  
clare in my Conscience, that the  
D 3 Kings

Kings Highness is the onely Supreme Governour of this Realm and all other his Highness Dominions and Countries, as we in all Spiritual, or Ecclesiastical things or causes, as Temporal: And that, no forraign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath, or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, or Superiority, preeminence or authority, Ecclesiastical, or Spiritual, within this Realm. And therefore, I do utterly renounce and forsake all foraign Jurisdiction, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities; and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true Allegiance to the Kings Highness, his Heirs and lawful Successors: and to my power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Priviledges, Preeminences and authorities, granted, or belonging to the Kings Highness; his Heirs and Successors.



## *the Oath of Allegiance.*

79

Successours, or, united and annexed to  
the Imperiall Crown of the Realm: So  
help me God: and By the Contents of  
his book.

And, that the Injustice, as  
well as the Errour of his gross  
mistaking in this point, may  
yet be more clearly discove-  
red; I have also thought good  
to Insert here immediately  
after the Oath of Supremacy,  
the contrary Conclusions to all  
the points and Articles, where-  
of this other late Oath doeth  
consist: whereby it may ap-  
pear, what unreasonable and  
rebellious points he would  
drive my subjects unto, By re-  
fusing the whole body of that  
Oath, as it is conceived. For he  
that shall refuse to take this  
Oath, must of necessity hold  
all, or some of these proposi-  
tions following.

That I, King *James*, am not

D 4

the

the lawful King of this Kingdom, and of all other my Dominions.

2. That the *Pope* By his own authority may depose me. not by his own authority, y<sup>e</sup> By some other authority of the Church, or of the See of *Rome*. If not By some other authority of the Church and See of *Rome*, yet by other means, with others help, he may depose me.

3. That the *Pope* may dispose of my Kingdoms and dominions.

4. That the *Pope* may give authority to some forraign Prince to invade my dominions.

5. That the *Pope* may discharge my Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to me.

6. That the *Pope* may give licence to one, or more of my

Su



Subjects to bear arms against me.

That the *Pope* may give leave to my Subjects to offer violence to my Person, or, to my Government, or, to some of my Subjects.

7.

That, If the *Pope* shall By Sentence Excommunicate, or depose me, my subjects are not to bear Faith and Allegiance to me.

8.

If the *Pope* shall By Sentence Excommunicate, or depose me, my Subjects are not bound to defend with all their power any Person, and Crown.

9.

If the *Pope* shall give out any sentence of Excommunication, or Deprivation against me, my subjects, by reason of that sentence, are not bound to reveal any Conspiracies and Treasons against me, which shall come to

10.

D 5

their

their hearing and knowledge.

11.

That <sup>it</sup> is not hereticall and detestable, to hold, that Prince being excommunicated by the Pope, may be either deposed, or killed by their Subjects, or any other.

12.

That the Pope hath power to absolve my Subjects from this Oath, or from some part thereof.

13.

That this Oath is not administered to my Subjects, By a full and lawfull authoritie.

14.

That this Oath is to be taken with Equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation: and not with the heart and good will, sincerely, in the true faith of a Christian man.

These are the true and naturall Branches of the Body of this Oath. The affirmation of all which negatives, doe not  
th



Other concerne In any case, the  
Popes Supremacie In spiritval  
causes: nor yet were ever con-  
cluded, and defined By any com-  
plete generall Countell to be-  
long to the Popes authority; and  
their owne schoole Doctors are  
at irreconciliable oddes and jars  
about them.

Touching  
the pre-  
tended  
council of  
Lateran.  
see Plat:  
In vita  
Innocen. 3

And, that the world may yet  
farther see ours, and the whole  
States setting down of this  
Oath, did not proceed from  
any new Invention of our own,  
but, as it is warranted by the  
word of God: so doeth it take  
the example from an Oath of  
Allegiance decreed a thousand  
yeers agoe, which a famous  
Council then, together with  
divers other Councils, were so  
farre from condemning (as the  
Pope now hath donethis Oath)  
as

The Oath  
Allegiance  
confirmed  
by the au-  
thority of  
ancient  
councils.

as I have thought good to set down their own words here for that purpose: whereby it may appear, that I crave nothing now of my subjects in this Oath, which was not expressly and carefully commanded then, by the Councils to be obeyed without exception of persons. Nay, not in the very particular point of *equivocation* which I in this Oath was so careful to have eschewed: But you shall here see the said Councils in their Decrees, so careful to provide for the eschewing of the same; so as almost every point of that Action, and this of ours, shall be found to have relation and agreement one with another save onely in this, that the old Councils were careful and strait in commanding the king

The ancient Councils provided for Equivocation.



king of the same: whereas by the contrary, He that now vane-  
teth himself to be Head of all Councils, is as careful and strait  
in the prohibition of all men from the taking of this Oath  
of Allegiance.

The difference between the ancient Councils, and the Pope counselling of the Catho-  
liks.

The words of the Council be these.

*Hear our Sentence.*

*Whosoever of us, or of all the people throughout all Spain, shall go about by any means of conspiracy or practise, to violate the Oath of his fidelity, which he hath taken for the preservation of his Countrey, or of the Kings life; or, who shall attempt to put violent hands upon the King; or, to deprive him of his kingly power; or, that by tyrannicall presumption would usurp the Sovereignty of the Kingdome: let him be accursed in the sight of God the Father, and of his Angels; and let*

Concil.  
Tolentan:  
4. Can. 47.  
Ann. 633.

let him be made and declared a stranger from the Catholick Church which he hath profaned by his perjury, and an aliant from the company of all Christian people; together with all the complices of his impiety: because, it behooveth all those that be guilty of thelike offence, to under-lie the like punishment. Which sentence is three severall times together, and almost in the same words, repeated in the same Canon. After this, the Synod desired, that this Sentence of theirs now this third time rehearsed, might be confirmed by the voyce and consent of all that were present. Then the whole Clergy and people answered, who soever shall carry himself presumptuously against this your definitive sentence, let them be utterly destroyed at the Lords comming, and let them and their complices have their per-



*portion with Judas Ischarioth.*  
Amen.

And In the fifth Council, there <sup>a Council</sup>  
it is decreed, That this Act <sup>Tolet.</sup>  
touching the Oath of Allegiance <sup>5. can. 7. anno 936.</sup>  
shall be repeated In Every Coun-  
cell of the Bishops of *Spain*.  
The Decree is In these wordes:  
In consideration that the minds  
of men are easily inclined to e-  
vil, and forgetfulness, therefore,  
this most holy Synod hath or-  
dained; and doeth enact, That  
in every Council of the Bishops  
of *Spain*, the Decree of the ge-  
neral <sup>b</sup> Council which was <sup>b Synod. Toletan.</sup>  
made for the safety of our <sup>4. univer-</sup>  
Princes, shall be with an audi- <sup>falis, et</sup>  
ble voice proclaimed and pro- <sup>magna Sy-</sup>  
nounced, after the conclusion <sup>molus dicta</sup>  
of all other things In the Sy- <sup>Syn. Tol. 5</sup>  
nod: that so it being often <sup>5. ca. 2.</sup>  
sounded into their ears, at least,  
by continual remembrance, the  
*mindes*

mindes of wicked men being terrified, might be reformed, which by oblivion and facilitie [to evil] are brought to prevaricate.

a Concil.  
Tolet 6.  
Can. 18.  
An. 638.

And in the sixth a Council, We do protest before God, and and at the orders of Angels, in the presence of the Prophets and Apostles, and all the compay of Martyrs, and before all the Catholike Church, and assemblies of the Christians; That no man shall goe about to seeke the destruction of the King: No man shall touch the life of the Prince. No man shall deprive him of the Kingdome; No man by any tyrannicall presumption shall usurpe to himself the soveraigntie of the Kingdome; No man, by any Machination shall in his adversitie associate to himselfe any packe of conspirators against him; And that if any of us shall be presumptuous by rashnesse in any of these cases.



let him be strick with the Anatheme  
of God, and reputed as condemned  
in eternall judgement, without any  
hope of recovery.

And in the tenth <sup>b</sup> Council  
to omit divers others held also  
(at Toledo) it is said; That if any  
religious man, even, from the Bis-  
hop, to the lowest Order of the  
Church-men, or Monkes, shall be  
found to have Violated the gene-  
ral Oathes made for the preservati-  
on of the Kings person, or, of the  
nation and countrey, with a profane  
mind; forthwith let him be de-  
rived of all dignitie, and excluded  
from all place and honour. The  
occasion of the Decrees made  
for this Oath, was, That the  
Christians were suspected, for  
want of fidelitie to their Kings;  
and did either equivocate in  
taking their Oath, or, make no  
conscience to keep it, when  
they

<sup>b</sup> Council  
Tolet.  
10. cant. 2.  
Ara. 694.

a Council.  
Toletan.  
4. cap. 74.

Concil.  
Tolet 4.  
cap. 74.

a Council. A  
quisgran.  
sub Ludo.  
Pio, et  
Greg. 4.  
can. 12.  
anno. 836.

they had given it : as may appear by sundry speeches in the a Council, saying, There is a generall report, that, there is that perfidiousness in the mindes of many people of divers Nations, that they make no conscience to keepe their Oath and fidelitie that they have sworne unto their Kings: but do assemble a profession of fidelitie in their mouthes, when they hold such impious perfidiousnes in their minds. And again, They swear to their Kings, and yet do they perjure and varicate in the fidelitie which they have promised: Neither do they fear the volume of Gods Judgement by the which the curse of God is brought upon them with great threatening of punishments, which they swear lyingly in the Name of God. To the like effect spake they at the Councel of Aquisgran: If any of the Bishops, or other Church-men infer



feriour degree, hereafter through  
or covetousness, or any other  
sasion, shal make defection from  
r Lord the Orthodox Emperour  
dowick, or, shall violate the  
th of fidelity made unto him, or  
ll with their perverse intention  
here to his enemies; let him by  
is Canonick and Synodall sen-  
nce be deprived of whatsoever  
ace he is possessed of.

nd now, to come to a particu-  
r answere of his letter. First, as  
ncerning the sweete memory  
e hath of his old acquaintance  
ith the Arch-priest; it may in-  
eed be pleasing for him to re-  
unt, but sure I am, his  
acquaintance with him  
nd the rest of his societie,  
ur Fugitives (whereof he also  
anteth himself in his preface to  
he Reader in his book of Con-  
roversies) hath prooved  
fowre

Campion  
and Hart.  
See the  
confe-  
rence in  
the Tower

lowre to us, and our State.  
Some of such Priests and  
its, as were the greatest T  
rours and fomenters of  
greatest conspiracies aga  
the late Queen, gave up for  
*Robert Bellarmine* for one  
their greatest authorities  
oracles. And therefore I  
not envy the great honor he  
win, By his vaunt of his Inw  
familiaritie with an o  
Princes traitiours & fugiti  
whom unto if he teach no  
ter maners then hitherto  
hath done, I think his fell  
ship are little Beholding  
him.

And for desiring him to  
member him in his prayer  
the ~~Alter~~ of the Lord: I  
Arch-priests prayers prove  
more profitable to his  
then *Bellarmines* counsell is



prove profitable, both, to the  
soul and body of *Blackwell* (if  
he would follow it) the author  
of this letter might very well  
do without his prayers.

Now, the first messenger that  
he can finde, which brought joy-  
full news of the Arch-priest to  
*Marmin*, was he that brought  
the news of the Arch-priests  
suffering, and first appearance of  
Martyrdome. A great sign sure-  
ly of the Cardinals mortificati-  
on, that he was so rejoyced to  
hear of the apprehension, im-  
prisonment, and appearance of  
going to death of so old and  
dear a friend of his. But yet  
surprisingly he should first have  
been sure, that he was onely to  
be punished for cause of Reli-  
gion, before he had so trium-  
phed upon the expectation of  
his Martyrdome. For first, By  
what

The Car-  
dinals  
charity.

what rule of charity was it la-  
ful for to judge me a persecutor  
before proof had been made  
of it By the said Arch-prie-  
condemnation, and death.  
What could hee know, that  
the said Arch-preist was not  
taken upon suspicion of his gu-  
tiness in the powder-Treasure.  
What certain informati-  
had he then receiued vpon  
particulars, Whereupon he was  
to be accused? And last of all  
By what Inspiration could he  
foretell, whereupon he was to  
be accused? For, at that time, there  
was yet nothing layed to  
charge. And, if charity should  
not be suspicious, what warrant  
had he absolutely to condemn  
me of using persecution as  
tyrannie, which could not  
but be implied upon me, if Blau-  
well was to be a Martyr?



may justly be said of *Bellar-*  
*me* In this case, that our Savi-  
r Christ saith of all worldly  
d carnall men, who think it  
ough to love their *a* friends,  
d hate their enemies; the li- <sup>a Mat. 5,</sup>  
ts of the Cardinals charity <sup>43.</sup>  
tending no further, then to  
em of his own profession. For  
hat ever he added, in super-  
ous charity to *Blackwel*, in re-  
ying in the speculation of  
future Martyrdome; he de-  
acted as much unjustly and  
charitably from me, in ac-  
unting of me thereby as of a  
body Persecutor. And where-  
this Joy of his was interrup-  
d by the next messenger, that  
ought the news of the said  
ch-priest his failing in his  
nstancy, By taking of  
is Oath; he needed  
ver to have been trou-  
bled

bled, either, with his former  
 or his second sorrow, both  
 ing alike falsly grounded. For  
 as it was never my intention  
 lay any thing unto the  
 Arch-priests charge, as I have  
 never done to any, for cause  
 conscience ; so was Black  
 constancie never brangled  
 taking of this Oath ; It being  
 thing which he ever thought  
 lawful before his apprehension  
 and whereunto he perswaded  
 Catholikes to give obedience  
 like as after his apprehension  
 he never made doubt or stop  
 it ; But at the first offering  
 unto him, did freely take it,  
 a thing most lawful ; neither  
 means of threatening, or flattery  
 being ever used unto him,  
 himself can yet bear witness.

And, as for the temperance  
 and modification of this Oath  
 exce



Except that a reasonable and lawfull matter is there set down in reasonable and temperate words, agreeing thereunto: I know not what he can mean, By quarrelling it for that fault. For no temperateness nor modifications in words therein, can justly be called the Devils craft; when the thing it self is so plain, and so plainly Interpreted to all them that take it; as the onely troublesome thing in it all, Be the words used in the end thereof, for eschewing *Equivocation*, and *mentall reservation*. Which by Catholique doctrine, may more justly be called the Devils craft, then any plain and temperate words, in so plain and clear a matter. But, what shall we say of these strange countrey downes, whom of with the same we may justly complain,  
E that

that, they blow both hot and cold out of one mouth? For *Luther* and all our bold and free speaking Writers are mightily rail'd upon by them, as hot brain'd fellows, and speakers By the Devils Instinct: and now if we speak moderately and temperately of them, it must be termed the Devils craft. And therefore, we may justly complain with *Christ* that, when we (a) mourn, they will not lament; and when we pipe they will not dance. But neither *John Baptist* his severity nor *Christ* his meekness and lowly can please them, who But but to their own Monarchy, upon the ground of their own Traditions, and not to *Christ*, upon the ground of his Word and Infalible truth.

a Matth.  
11.17.

But, what can be meant by alledging, that the craft of  
Dev



Devill herein, is onely used for  
 subversion of the Catholique  
 Faith, and everſion of St. *Peter's*  
 Primacie, had need be com-  
 mented anew by *Bellarmino* him-  
 ſelf. For, in all this Letter of  
 his, never one word is used to  
 prove, that by any part of this  
 Oath the primacy of St. *Peter* is  
 any way medled with, except  
 Mr. *Bellarmino* his bare alledg-  
 ing; which, without proving it  
 by more clear demonstration,  
 can never ſatisfie the conſcience  
 of any reaſonable man. For  
 (for ought that I know) Heaven  
 and Earth are no farther aſun-  
 der, then the profeſſion of a tem-  
 porall obedience to a temporall  
 King, is different from any thing  
 belonging to the Catholique  
 Faith, or Supremacy of St. *Peter*.  
 For, as for the Catholique Faith,  
 can there be one word found in

No deciſ-  
 on of any  
 point of  
 Religion  
 in the  
 Oath of  
 Allegi-  
 ance.

E 2 all

all that Oath, tending or found-  
 ing to matter of Religion.  
 Doth he that taketh it, promise  
 there to believe, or not to be-  
 lieve, any article of Religion.  
 Or, doth he so much as name  
 true, or a false Church there.  
 And as for *St. Peters* Primacy,  
 know no Apostles name that  
 therein named, except the name  
 of *James*, It being my Christ  
 name; though it please him  
 to deign to name me In all  
 Letter, albeit the contents thereof  
 of concern me In the highest de-  
 gree. Neither is there any  
 mention at all made therein,  
 ther, *disertis verbis*, or, by  
 other Indirect meanes, either  
 the Hierarchie of the Church  
 of *St. Peters* succession, of  
 sea Apostolick, or, of any  
 matter: But that, the Author  
 our Letter doth bravely man-  
 ment



mention of *St. Peters* succession, bringing it in comparison with the succession of *Henry* the eight. Of which unapt and unmannerly similitude, I wonder, he should not be much ashamed. For, as to King *Henries* successor (which he meaneth By me) as I, I say, never did, nor will presume to create any Article of Faith, or, to be Judge thereof; But to submit my Exemplary obedience unto them, In as great humility as the meanest of the Land: so, If the Pope could be as well able to prove, his either Personal, or Doctrinall Succession, from *St. Peter*, as I am able to prove my lineall descent from the Kings of *England*, and *Scotland*, there had never been so long adoe, nor so much stirre kept about this question in Christendome; neither had Mr. *Bellar-*

a Bellar. de  
Rom. Pont.  
lib. 4. cap. 6  
Ibid. lib. 2.  
cap. 12.

b Idem.  
ibidem lib.  
2. cap. 14.

mine (a) himself needed to have bestowed so many sheets of paper *De summo Pontifice*, In his great Books of Controversies, and, when all is done, to conclude with a morall certitude, and a *piè credendum*; bringing in the (b) Popes, that are parties In this cause, to be his witnesses; and yet, their historicall narration must be no Article of Faith: And I am without vantery, sure, that I do farre more neerly Imitate the worthy actions of my Predecessors, then the Popes in our age can be well proved to be *similes Petro*, especially, In cursing of Kings, and setting free their Subjects from their Allegiance unto them.

But now we come to his strongest argument, which is That he would alledge upon me a Panick terrour, as if I were possessed



possessed with a needless fear.

For, saith the Cardinall, from <sup>The Cardinals weightiest Argument.</sup> the beginning of the Churches first infancie, even to this day, where was it ever heard, that ever a Pope either commanded to be killed, or allowed the slaughter of any Prince whatsoever, whether he were an Heretick, an Ethnick, or Persecutor? But first, wherefore doth he here wilfully, and of purpose, omit the rest of the points mentioned in that Oath, for deposing, degrading, stirring up of armes, or rebelling against them, which are as well mentioned in that Oath, as the killing of them? as being all of one consequence against a King, no Subject being so scrupulous, as that he will attempt the one, and leave the other unperformed, if he can. And yet surely I cannot blame him for passing it over, since he

could not otherwise have ef-  
 chewed the direct belying of  
 himself in termes, which he now  
 doth But in substance and effect.  
 For (a) as for the Popes depo-  
 sing and degrading of Kings, he  
 maketh so brave vaunts and  
 brags of it in his former Books  
 as he could never with civill ho-  
 nesty have denied it here.

But, to return to the popes al-  
 lowing of killing of Kings,  
 know not, with what face he can  
 set so stout a deniall upon it a-  
 gainst his own knowledge. How  
 many Emperours did the Pope  
 raise warre against in their own  
 bowels? Who, as they were  
 overcome in battell, were subiect  
 to have been killed therein  
 which I hope the Pope could  
 not but have allowed, when he  
 was so farre enraged at (b) Henry  
 the fifth for giving burial to  
 his

a Bellar. de  
 Rom. Pont.  
 lib. 5. cap.  
 8. & lib.  
 3. cap. 16.

b Gotfrid.  
 Viterb.  
 Helmod.  
 Caspian.



his Fathers dead corps, after  
the (a) Pope had stirred him up<sup>a Pascha</sup>  
to rebell against his Father,  
and procured his ruine. But  
leaving these old Histories to  
*Bellarmines* own Books, that doe  
most authentically cite them,  
as I have already said; let us  
turn our eyes upon our own time,  
and therein remember what a  
Panegyrick (b) Oration was<sup>b See the</sup>  
made by the Pope, in praise<sup>Oration</sup>  
and approbation of the Frier<sup>of Sixtus</sup>  
and his fact, that murthered<sup>Quintus,</sup>  
King *Henry* the third of *France*,<sup>made in</sup>  
who was so farre from either<sup>the Con-</sup>  
being Heritick, Ethnick, or<sup>sistory up-</sup>  
persecutor in their account, that<sup>on the</sup>  
that the said Popes own words<sup>death of</sup>  
in that Oration are, *That a true*  
*Frier hath killed a counterfeit*  
*Frier.* And besides that vene-  
ment Oration and Congratula-  
tion for that fact, how neer  
it

it scaped, that the said Frie  
was not canonized for that glo  
rious act, is better known to *Be  
llarmine*, and his followers, then  
us here.

But sure I am, If some Car  
dinals had not been more wi  
and circumspect in that Erran  
then the Pope himself was, the  
Popes own Kalender of  
Saints, would have sufficient  
proved *Bellarmino* a liar in the  
case.

And, to draw yet neerer un  
our selves; How many practi  
ses and attempts were made  
gainst the late Queenes life  
which were directly enjoyned  
to those Traytors By their Con  
fessors, and plainly authorize  
By the Popes allowance? For  
verification whereof, there need  
no more proof, then that, new  
Pope, either then, or since, call



any Church-man In question for meddling in those treasonable Conspiracies ; nay, the Cardinals own *S. Sanderus*, mentioned In his Letter, could well verifie this truth, If he were alive ; and, who will look his Books, will find them filled with no other doctrine then this. And, what difference there is between the killing, or allowing the slaughter of Kings, and the stirring up and approbation of practises to kill them, I remit to *Bellarmino's* own judgement. It may then very clearly appear, How strangely this Authors passion hath made him forget himself, By implicating himself In so strong a contradiction against his own knowledge, and conscience, against the witness of his former books ; and against the practise of

*An Apologie for*  
 of our own times. But who  
 can wonder at this contradicti  
 on of himself in this point  
 when his own great Volume  
 are so filled with contradicti  
 ons? which, when either he, or  
 any other shall ever be able to  
 reconcile, I will then Believe  
 that he may easily reconcile the  
 Impudent strong denial of his,  
 his letter, of any Popes meddling  
 against Kings, with his own for  
 mer Books, as I have already  
 said.

And that I may not seem to  
 imitate him, in affirming boldly  
 that which I no wayes prove;  
 will therefore send the Reader  
 to look for witnesses of his con  
 tradictions, in such places he  
 mentioned in his own Books.  
 In his Books of (a) Justificati  
 on, there he affirmeth, That  
 the uncertainty of our own prop

a Bellar. de  
 Justif. lib.  
 3. cap. 7.



righteousness, and for avoiding  
vain-glory, it is most sure and  
safe, to repose our whole confidence  
in the alone mercy and goodness of  
God: (a) Which proposition of <sup>a Contra-</sup>  
his is directly contrary to <sup>ry to all</sup> the  
discourse, and current of all his <sup>his five</sup>  
five Bookes de Iustificatione, <sup>books de</sup>  
wherein the same is contain-  
ed. <sup>Iustificat.</sup>

God doth not encline a man to e-  
vill, either (b) naturally, or mo- <sup>b Bellar. de</sup>  
rally. <sup>amif. gra</sup>

Presently after, he affirmeth <sup>& stat. pec</sup>  
the contrary, That God doth not <sup>lib. 2. c. 13.</sup>  
encline to evil naturally, but (c) <sup>c Ibidem</sup>  
morally. <sup>paulo post</sup>

Allo, the Fathers teach con-  
stantly, That (d) Bishops do suc- <sup>d Bellar. de</sup>  
ceed the Apostles, and Priests the <sup>clericis, lib</sup>  
seventy Disciples. <sup>1. cap. 14</sup>

Elsewhere He affirmeth the  
contrary. That (e) Bishops do not <sup>e Bellar. de</sup>  
properly succeed the Apostles. <sup>Pont. lib. 4</sup>  
<sup>cap. 25.</sup>

a Bellar. de  
Pont lib. 1  
cap. 12.

That (a) Iudas did not be-  
lieve.

b Bellar. de  
Justif. lib.

Contrary, That (b) Iudas was  
just and certainly good.

3. cap. 14.

c Bellar. de  
gra. & lib.  
arbit. lib. 5  
cap. 5.

The keeping of the (c) Law  
according to the substance of the  
work, doth require, that the Com-  
mandement be so kept, that sin be  
not committed, and the man be not  
guilty for having not kept the Com-  
mandement.

d Eodem  
lib. cap. 9.

Contrary, (d) It is to be  
known, that, it is not all one, to  
doe a good morall work, and to  
keep the Commandement accord-  
ing to the substance of the work.  
For the Commandement may be kept  
according to the substance of the  
work, even with sin; as if one  
should restore to his friend the thing  
committed to him of trust, to the end  
that theeves might afterward take  
it from him.

Peter



(a) Peter did not lose that Faith, whereby the heart believeth unto justification. a Bellar. de Pont. lib. 4. cap. 3.

Contrary, (b) Peters sin was deadly. b Bellar. de Just. lib. 3. cap. 14.

(c) Antichrist shall be a Magician, and after the manner of other Magicians, shall secretly worship the Devil. c Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 3. cap. 14.

(d) Contrary, He shall not admit of idolatry: he shall not hate idols, and reedifie the Temple. d Ibid. ex sentent. Hypol. & Cyril. & cap. 12. ejusdem lib. bri.

By the words of (e) Consecration the true and solemn oblation is made. c Bell. lib. 1 de missa. cap. 27.

Contrary, The sacrifice doth not consist in the words, but in the (f) oblation of the thing itself. f Bellar. de miss. lib. 2. cap. 12.

(g) That the end of the world cannot be known. g Bellar. de anim. Chris. lib. 4. cap. 5.

(h) Contrary, After the death of Antichrist, there shall be but five b Bellar. de Pont. lib. 3. cap. 17.  
and

*An Apologie for  
and forty dayes till the end of the  
world.*

a Bellar. de  
Pont. lib. 3,  
cap. 13.

(a) That the ten Kings shall  
burn the scarlet whore, that is  
Rome.

b Bell. ibid.

(b) Contrary, Antichrist shall  
hate Rome, and fight against it, and  
burn it.

c Bellar. de  
Pont. lib. 2.  
cap. 31.

(c) The name of universall Bi-  
shop may be understood two wayes  
one way, that he which is said to be  
universall Bishop may be thought to  
be the onely Bishop of all Christian  
Cities; so that all others are not  
indeed Bishops, but onely Vicars to  
him, who is called universall Bi-  
shop; in which sense the Pope is not  
universall Bishop.

d Bellar. de  
Pont. lib. 2.  
cap. 24.

Contrary, All ordinary (d) Juris-  
diction of Bishops doth descend im-  
mediately from the Pope, and is in  
him, and from him is derived to  
others.

Which



Which few places I have only selected amongst many the like, that the discreet and judicious Reader may discern *ex ungue Leonem*. For when ever he is pressed with a weighty objection, he never careth, nor remembereth how his solution and answer to that, may make him gainsay his own doctrine in some other places, so it serve him for a shift to put off the present storm withall.

But now to return to our matter again: *Since Popes* (saith he) *have never at anytime meddled against Kings, wherefore, I pray you, should onely the King of England be afraid of that, whereof never Christian King is, or was afraid?* Was never Christian Emperour or King afraid of the Popes? How then were these miserable Emperours tost and turmoiled,  
and

and in the end utterly ruined

the Popes : for proof whereof

have already cited *Bellarmin*

own books ? Was not the

Emperour afraid, who (b) wait

bare-footed, in the frost

snow, three dayes at the Po

gate, before he could get entr

Was not the (c) Emperour

afraid, (d) who was driven to

agroof on his belly, and suffer

nother Pope to tread upon

neck ? And was not another

Emperour afraid, (f) who

constrained, in like manner,

endure a third Pope to beat

from his head the Imper

Crown with his foot ? Was

(g) Philip afraid, being m

Emperour against Pope *Inno*

*tius* good liking, when he br

out into these words, *Eithe*

*Pope shall take the Crown from*

lip, or Philip shall take the M

a Henry 4

b Abbas  
*Werspergen.*

*Lamb.*

*Scaffa.*

*An. 1077.*

*Plat. in*

*vit. Greg 7*

c Freder.

*Barbaross.*

d Nauceler.

*gener. 40.*

*Jacob.*

*Bergom. in*

*Supplem.*

*chron. Al-*

*fonf. Cine.*

*in vit. A.*

*lx. 3.*

e Henry 6

*R. Hoved.*

*in Rich. 1.*

*Ranulph*

*in Poly-*

*chronico.*

*lib. 7.*

g Abbas

*Wersperg. ad*

*An. 1191.*

*Nauc. gen.*

*40. Cuspin.*

*in Philippo*



from the Pope? whereupon the Pope stirred up Ottho against him, who caused him to be slain; and presently went to Rome, and was crowned Emperour by the Pope, though afterward the Pope deposed him too. Was not the

Emperour (a) Frederick afraid,

when Innocentius the fourth, ex-

communicated him; deprived

him of his Crown; absolved

princes of their Oath of fidelity

to him, & In Apulia corrupted one

to give him poyson? whereof the

Emperour recovering, he hired

his bastard Son Manfredus to poi-

son him, whereof he died. What

(b) Alexander the third write to

the Soldan? That, if he would

live quietly, he should by some

right murther the (c) Emperour;

and to that end sent him the

Emperours picture. And did not

(d) Alexander the sixt, take of

the

<sup>a</sup> Alb. 15

Ursperg.

Matth.

Parif. in

Henr. 3.

Petrus de

Vineis Ep.

lib. 1. & 2.

Cuspin. in

Freder. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Vita Fre-

derici Ger-

manicè

conscripta.

<sup>c</sup> Freder.

Barbaross.

<sup>d</sup> Paul Jo-

vius Hist.

lib. 2. Cus-

pinian in

Bajazet. 11

Guicciard.

lib. 2.

the Turk *Bajazetes* two hundred thousand Crowns to kill his Father *Gemen*, or, as some call him *Sisimus*, whom he held captive at Rome? Did he not accept of conditions to payson the man and had his pay? Was not

a Hoveden  
pag. 308.

Matth.

Paris. in

Henric. II.

Walsing. in

Hypodig.

Neustria.

Joan. Cap-  
grave.

(a) Henry the second, afraid of the slaughter of Thomas Becket, that, besides his going barefooted in Pilgrimage, was whipped up and down the Chapel house like a school-boy, glad to scape so too? Had this French King his Grand-father King John, re-

b Gomeci-  
us de rebus  
gest. Fran.

Ximenii

Archiepif.

Tolet. lib. 5

to be afraid, when the (b) gave away his Kingdom of Navarre to the King of Spain, who of he yet possesseth the best? Had not this King, his Successor, reason to be afraid, when he was forced to beg so submissively for relaxation of his Excommuni-



ion, as he vvas content likevvise  
 to suffer his Ambassadour to  
 be vvhipped at *Rome*, for pen-  
 ance? And, had not the late  
 Queen, reason to look to her  
 self, vvhen she vvas Excommu-  
 nicated by *Pius Quintus*, her  
 subjects loosed from their Fi-  
 delity and Allegiance tovvard  
 her Kingdome of *Ireland* given  
 to the King of *Spain*, and that  
 famous fugitive Divine, honour-  
 ed vvith a red Hat, as *Bellarmino*  
 is, vvas not ashamed to publish  
 in print an (a) Apologie for  
*Stanlie's* Treason, maintaining,  
 that by reason of her Excommu-  
 nication and heresie, It vvas not  
 onely lawvfull for any of her  
 subjects, But even they vvere  
 bound in conscience, to deprive  
 her of any strength, vvhich lay  
 in their povver to doe? And,  
 vvwhether it vvere Armies, Tovvns  
 or

a Card.  
*Allen's*  
 Answer to  
*Stan. let.*  
*An. 1587.*

or Fortresses of hers, which they had in their hands, they were obliged to put them in the King of Spain her Enemies hands, she no more being the right owner of any thing? I albeit it be true, that wise men are moved by the Examples others dangers to use providence and caution, according to the old proverb, *Tum tuam agitur, paries cum proximus* det: yet was I much needily summoned to use this caution, the practise of it in mine own person.

First, By the sending forth of these Bulls, whereof I have mentioned already, for debarring me from entry unto this Crowne and Kingdome. And next, after my entry, and full possession thereof, By the horrible Powder-treason, which should have been



berest both me, and mine, both of Crown, and Life. And howsoever the Pope will seem to clear himself of any allowance of the said Powder-treason; yet can it not be denied, that his principall Ministers here, and his chief *Mancipia* the Jesuites, were the plain practisers thereof: for which the principall of them hath died confessing it, and other have fled the Countrey for the crime; yea, some of them gone into *Italy*: and yet neither these that fled out of this Countrey for it, nor *Baldwine*, who though he then remained in the low Countreys, was of counsell in it, were ever called to account for it By the Pope; much lesse punished, for medling in so scandalous and enormous busines.

And

And now, what needs for  
wonder and exclamation,  
*the onely King of England* fear  
And, what other Christian  
doth, or ever did fear, but he  
If by the force of his Rhetoric  
he could make me, and my  
Subjects, to mistrust our  
deny the sun to shine at  
day, and not with the Serpent  
stop our eares to his charms  
But to the plain and visible  
ty it self. And yet for all  
wonder, he can never prove me  
be troubled with such a Pa  
terror. Have I ever Impos  
ned the Pope with any re  
for my security? Or, have I  
ther troubled other Chris  
Princes, my Friends and All  
to intreat for me at the Po  
hand? Or yet, have I beg  
from them any aid or assist  
for my farther security



No. All this wonderd at feare  
of mine, stretcheth no further,  
then wisely to make distinction  
between the sheep and goates  
in my owne pasture. For since,  
what ever the Popes part hath  
been in the Powder-treason; yet  
certain it is, that, all these  
traitife monsters did to their  
death, maintain, that, onely  
zeal of Religion mooved them  
to that horrible attempt: yea,  
some of them at their death,  
could not crave pardon at  
God, or King, for their offence,  
exhorting other of their fol-  
lowers to the like constancie.  
Had not we then, and our Par-  
liament, great reason, by this  
death to set a mark of distincti-  
on between good Subjects, and  
traitors? Yea, between Papists,  
through peradventure zealous  
F lous

ious in their Religion, yet  
 therwise civilly honest and  
 good subjects, and such ter-  
 rible firebrands of hell, as wou-  
 ld maintain the like maxime  
 which these Powder-men di-  
 vaine, Nay, could there be a more  
 gracious part in a King, suppo-  
 sing I say it, towards Subjects of  
 contrary Religion, then by ma-  
 king them take this Oath, to pu-  
 blish their honest fidelity into  
 temporal things to me, their So-  
 veraign, and thereby to wipe  
 that Imputation and great dis-  
 honour which was laid upon  
 the whole professors of that Re-  
 ligion, By the furious Enterprize  
 of these Powder-men?

a Nazian-  
 zenus in  
 Julian. in-  
 vectiva  
 prima.

And whereas, for illustration  
 of this strong argument of his  
 he hath brought in for a simile  
 the history of a *Julian* the



state his dealing with the Christians, when as he straited them, either, to commit Idolatrie, or, to come within the compasse of treason: I would wish the authour to remember, that, although a similitude, may be permitted *claudicare Uno pede*; The disproportion of the Cardinals similitude yet this, was a very ill chosen similitude, which is lame both of feet, and handes, and every member of the body. For, I shal a few words proove, that, it agreeth in noone point, save one, with our purpose, which is, that, *Julian* was an Emperour, and I King. First, *Julian*, was an *apostate*, one that had renounced the whole Christian Faith, which he had once professed, and became an Ethnik again, rather, an Atheist: whereas, I am a Christian, who never changed that Religion, that I

F 2

drank

drank, clear, and voyd of all obscuritie: never refusing leave to any that are required to take this Oath, to study it at leisure, and giving them all the interpretation of it they can crave. But the greatest dissimilitude of all, is in this: that, *Julian* pressed them to commit Idolatry to Idoles and Images: but well I, as all the Subjects of my profession so farre from guilt in this point, as we are counted heretiques by you because we will not commit Idolatry. So as in the main point of all, is the great contrarietic. For, *Julian* persecuted the Christians, because they would not commit Idolatry; and ye count me a persecutour, because, I will not commit Idolatry. So as to



clude this point, this old sentence may well be applied to Bellarmine, in using so unapt a similitude,

*Perdere quos vult Iupiter, hos dementat.*

And therefore, his uncharitable conclusion doeth not rightly follow: *That, it seemeth unto him that some such thing should be subtilly or fraudulently included in this Oath,* as if no man can detest treason against the King, or professe civill subjection, except he renounce the Primacie of the Apostolike See. But how he hath suckt this apprehension out at his fingers ends, I cannot imagine: for sure I am, as I have oft said, He never goeth about to prove it: and to answer an improbable Imagination, is, to fight against a vanishing shadow. It cannot be denied in

deed, that, many servants of Christ, as wel Pricsts, as others have endured constantly all sorts of torments, and death for the profession of Christ and therefore, to all such his examples as he bringeth in for verifying the same; I need not to give him any other answer save onely, to remember him that, he playeth the part of sophister in all these examples of the constancie Martyrs: ever taking *Controv* *sam pro confesso*, as if this our case were of the same nature. But yet, that the Reader may better discover, not onely, how unaptly his similitudes are applied, but likewise how dishonestly he useth himselfe in his citations: I have thought good, to set down the  
 play



places themselves cited by him, together with a short deduction of the true state of those particular cases: whereby, how little these examples can touch our case; nay, By the contrary, how rightly their true sense may be used, as our own weapons to be throwen backe upon him that alleadgeth them, shall easily appeare. And first, for *Eleazar*: If the Arch-priest his ground of refusing the Oath, were as good as *Eleazars* was, to forbear to eat the swines flesh, it might not unfitly be applied by the Cardinall to this purpose. For, as *Eleazar* was a principall Scribe, so is he a principall Priest: As *Eleazars* example had a great force in it, to animate the younger Scribes to keep the Law, or, in his colourable eating it,

*2 Macch<sup>es</sup> c. 6.  
verse 18.*

*An answer  
to the Car  
dinals ex-  
ample of  
Eleazar.*

Law, or, in his colourable saying it, to have taught them to dissemble: so hath the Arch-Priests, either, to make the inferior priests to take the Oath or to refuse it: But the ground failing, the building cannot stand. For, what examples there in all the scripture, which disobedience to the Oath of the King, or, want of Allegiance is allowed? If a Cardinall would remember that, when the Church makes a law (suppose, to forbid fasting on certain dayes) he, that refuseth to obey it, incurreth the just censure of the Church: a man then ought to die, rather, then to breake the least of Gods Ceremoniall Lawes, and pine and starve his body, rather, then to violate the Church his positive Law: will



not give leave to a man, to redeem his soule from sinne, and to keep his body from punishment, By keeping a Kings politique law, and, By giving good example in his Person, raise up a good opinion in me, of like Allegiance in the Inferiour of his order? This application, as I take it, would have better fitted this example.

But let me remember the Cardinall of another Oath. Injoyned by a King to his people, whereby he indangered his own life, and hazarded the safetic of the whole army, when he made the people sweare in the morning, not to taste of any meat untill night: which Oath he exacted so strictly, that his eldest sonne and heire apparant, Je-

E 5

nathan

*nathan*, for breaking of it, By  
tasting a little hony of the top  
of his rod, though he heard  
not when the King gave the  
oath, had well nigh died for it.  
And shall an Oath given upon  
so urgent an occasion as this  
was, for the apparent safety of  
me, and my posteritie, forbid  
ing my people to drink so dee-  
ly in the Bitter cup of Anti-  
christian fornications, But that  
they may keepe so much hony  
in their hearts, as may agree  
them still espoused to me, the  
Soveraign, in the main kinde  
of true Allegiance; shall be  
law. I say, By him be conden-  
ned to hell, for a *stratageme* of  
*than*. I say no more, But God  
lot in the Oath of *Sauls*, and  
*Bellarmines* verdict upon  
this Oath of ours, for



not to be cast out of one lap.

Now, to this Example of *Basil*,  
which is (as he sayeth) so fit for  
his purpose, First, I must ob-  
serve, that, If the Cardinall  
would leave a common and  
ordinary trick of his, in all his  
Citations, which is, to take what  
makes for him, and leave out  
what makes against him; & cite  
the Authours sense, as well as  
his Sentence, we should not be  
so much troubled with answer-  
ing the Ancients, which he al-  
ludgerh. To instance it in this  
very place: If he had continued  
his allegation, one line further  
he should have found this place  
out of *Theoderet*, of more force  
to have moved *Blackwell*, to  
take the Oath, then, to have  
disswaded him from it.  
For, in the very next words it  
followeth

Theod.  
lib. 4. c. 19  
An answer  
to the Car-  
din. Ex-  
ample of  
S. Basil.

followerh, *Imperatoris quidem  
amicitiam magnifice pendere, cum  
pietate; quā remota, pernitiosam  
esse dicere.* But that it may appear  
whether of us haue greater  
right to this place, I will in few  
words shew the author  
drift.

The Emperour *Valens*, being  
an Arrian, at the perswasion  
his wife, when he had deprived  
all the Churches of their Pa-  
ours, came to *Cesarea*, where  
S. *Basil* was then Bishop, who  
as the History reporteth, was  
accounted the *Light of the world*.  
Before he came, he sent his  
puty to worke it, that S. B.  
should hold fellowship with  
*Endoxius* (which *Endoxius*  
Bishop of *Constantinople*,  
the principall of the Arrian  
ction for, if he would not,



he should put him to Banishment. Now, when the Emperours Deputie came to *Cæsarea*, he sent for *Basil*, intreated him honourably, spake pleasingly unto him, desired he would give way to the time, neither, that he would hazard the good of so many Churches *tenui exquisitiōe dogmatis*: promised him the Emperours favour, and himselfe to be mediatur for his good. But

*S. Basil* answered, These inflaming speeches were fit to be used to children, that use to gape after such things: but, for them that were thoroughly instructed in Gods word, They could never suffer any syllable thereof to be corrupted: Nay, if need required, they would for the maintenance thereof, refuse no kind of death. In

deed

Theodo.  
lib. 4. cap.  
19.

Modestus  
Nazianz.  
upon the  
death of  
Basil cal-  
leth him  
in his o-  
ration.

Look cap.  
11. eius-  
dem libris

deed, the love of the Emperour ought to be greatly esteemed, with pietie; but pietie taken away, it was pernicious.

This is the truth of the history. Now, compare the case of Basill with the Arch-priest. Basill was solicited to become an Arrian: the Arch-priest not once touched for any article of faith. Basill would have obeyed the Emperour, but, that the word of God forbade him: the man is willed to obey, because the word of God commands him. Basill rightly esteemed the Emperours favour, if it might have stood with pietie: the Arch-priest is exhorted to reject it, though it stand with true godlinesse in deed to embrace it. But that may lay load upon the Arch-priest.



Arch-priest, it is not sufficient to exhort him to courage and constancie By *Eleazars*, and *Basils* examples; But he must be utterly cast down, with the comparing his fall to *S. Peters*, and *Marcellinus*: which two mens cases were the most fearfull, considering their persons and places, that are to be found, or read of, either In all the Books of divine Scripture, or, the volumes of Ecclesiasticall histories; the one, denying the onely true God; the other, our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, the one sacrificing to Idols, with the profane heathen, the other, forswearing his Lord and Master, with the hard-hearted Jewes. Unless the Cardinal would drive the Arch-priest to some horreur of conscience, and pit of despaire, I know

The Card.  
asimila-  
ting of the  
Archpr.  
case to S.  
Peters, and  
Marcelli-  
nus, consi-  
dered.

know not what he can mean  
By this Comparison. For sure  
I am, all that are not intoxica-  
ed with their cup, cannot be  
wonder to hear of an Oath  
of Allegiance to a natural  
Sovereign, to be likened to  
*Apostats* denying of God, and  
forswearing of his Saviour.

But to let passe the *Dissemblance*  
of the cases (as his ill-fav-  
ed coupling *S. Peter*, the Head  
of their Church, with an *Apo-*  
*state Pope*) I marvel he would  
remember this Example

*Marcellinus*, since his Brother

Cardinall *Baronius*, and the late

edition of the councils

*Binius*, seem to call the credit

of the whole History in

question, saying,

it might plainly be

proved, and that it is pro-

Look pla-  
tina invita  
Marcelli-  
ni.

Concil.  
Tom.

1. pag. 222

Look ba-  
ronius An.

302. num.

96.



bly to be shew'd, that the story is but obreptions, but that he would not swarve from the common received opinion.

And, if a man might have leave to conjecture; so would his Cardinalship too, if it were not for one or two sentences in that Councell *see Tom. I*  
*Sinveffa*, which served for Concil. in  
his purpose: namely, that, *Act. Con-*  
*Prima sedes a nemine judicatur:* cil. *Sin-*  
*vesian.*

And, *Indica causam tuam nostra*  
*sententia non condemnaberis.* But  
to what purpose a great Coun-  
cell (as he termes it) of three  
hundred Bishops, and others,  
should meet together. who  
before they met, knew they  
could do nothing; when they  
were there, did nothing, but  
like Cuckowes, sing over and  
over the same song: that, *Prima*  
*Sedes*

*Sedes à nemine Indicator:* and after three dayes sitting (a long time Indeed, for a great and grave Councel) brake so bluntly up: and yet, that, there should be seventy two witnesses brought against him, and that they should subscribe his communication, and that by his own mouth he tooke *Anathema maranatha:* how the untoward contradictions should be made to agree, I must refer the Cardinall to *Venice*, to *Paulo*. who, in his Apologie against the Cardinalls oppositions, hath handled them learnedly.

But from one Pope, to passe to another: (for, where the principall Article of Faith and Religion this Oath is I have already sufficiently proved



Why he called S. Gregory our  
Apostle, I know not, unlesse  
perhaps it be, for that, he sent  
*Augustine* the Monke, and others  
with him, into *England*, to convert  
us to the Faith of Christ, where-  
in I wish the *Popes* his success-  
ours would follow his patterne.  
For, albeit he sent them By di-  
vine Revelation (as he said) into  
*England*, vnto King *Ethelbert*;  
yet, when they came, they exer-  
cised no part of their function,  
but, by the Kings leave and  
permission. So did King *Lucius*  
send to *Eleutherius* his prede-  
cessor, and he sent him divers  
Bishops, who were all placed  
by the Kings authoritie. These  
converted men to the Faith,  
and taught them to obey the  
King. And, If the *Popes* in  
these dayes would but insist in  
these

beda ec-  
clesiast.  
Hist. gen.  
Ang. lib. i.  
cap. 4.

these steps of their Forefathers  
then would they not intertaine  
Princes fugitives abroad, nor  
send them home, not only  
without my leave, but directly  
against the lawes, with practice  
of treason, and doctrine  
of rebellion, to draw Subjects  
from their obedience to  
their naturall King: nor be  
cruell to their owne Majestie  
as returning them with their  
wares, but either a State  
jealousie of them, or their  
hazard of their owne lives.  
Now, to our Apostle (since  
Cardinall will have him  
called) I perswade my selfe  
I should do a good service  
the Church in this my laboure  
if I could but reape this  
fruit of it, to move the  
Cardinall to deale faithfully.



the Fathers, and never to al-  
ledge their opinions against  
their own purpose. For, this  
letter of Gregorius was written  
to John Bishop of *Palermo*, in *Greg. lib.*  
*Sicily*, to whom he granted *cap. 42*  
*sum pallii*, to be worne in such  
times, and in such order, as the  
priests in the Isle of *Sicily*, & his  
predecessours were wont to use:  
and withall, giveth him a ca-  
veat: that the reverence to the  
apostolick See be not disturbed by  
the presumption of any: for then  
the state of the members doth re-  
maine sound, when the head of the  
faith is not brused by any injury,  
and the authority of the Cannons al-  
ways remaine safe and sound.

Now, let us examine the  
words. The Epistle was writ-  
ten to a Bishop, especially to  
grant him the use of the  
pall; A ceremony, and mat-  
ter

ter indifferent. As it appeareth, The Bishop of Rome took it well at his hands, that would not presume to touch it upon him without leave from the Apostolique See, giving him that admonition which followeth in the words alledged out of him: which doctrine are so far from impugn that we altogether approve and allow of the same; whatsoever ceremonie, for order, is thought meet by Christian Magistrate, and Church, the same ought to be kept: and where the Head and government matters of that nature are obeyed, the members of the Church must needs run to civil confusion. But, that God By that terme, *caput fidei*, himselfe the Head of our



and the Head of all Religion,  
cannot stand with the course  
of his doctrine, and writings.

For first, when an other would  
have had this stile, to be called  
*Universalis Episcopus*, he said,  
do confidently avouch, that, who-  
ever calleth himselfe, or desiereth  
to be called *Universall Bishop*: In  
his advancing of himselfe. is the  
prerunner of the Antichrist.

John of  
Constanti-  
nople  
see Greg.  
lib. 4. E-  
pist. 32.  
Lib. 6.  
Epist. 30.

Which notwithstanding was a  
stile far Inferiour to that of *Ca-  
pituli fidei*. And, when it was of-  
fered to himselfe, the words of  
Gregory be these, refusing  
that title: None of my predecessors  
Bishops of Rome] ever con-  
sented to use this prophane name  
of universal Bishop.] None of  
my predecessors ever took upon him  
this name of singularity, neither  
consented to use it, We, the Bishops  
of Rome, do not seek, nor yet ac-  
cept

Greg. lib. 4  
Epist. 32.  
et 36.

cept this glorious title, being offered  
unto us. And now, I pray you  
would He, that refused to  
called universal Bishop, be  
led *Caput fidei*, unless it were  
that sence, as I have expresse  
which sence if he will not  
mit, give me leave to say  
of Gregory which himselve  
of *Lira, minus cantu locutus*  
or, which he elsewhere said  
*Chrysostome, Locutus est, per*  
*sum.* To redeem therefore  
Apostle out of his hands,  
to let him remaine ours, and  
his in this case; It is very  
that he saith in that sence  
speake it. When ye goe  
to disturb, diminish, or take  
way the authority or Su  
macie of the Church, whic  
steth on the Head of the  
whithin his dominions, ye  
off the Head, and chief go

bellar. de  
Rom. pont  
lib. 2. c. 10.  
Idem. lib.  
2. de missa  
cap. 10.



or thereof, and disturb the  
ate, and members of the  
hole Body. And for a conclu-  
on of this point, I pray him  
to think, that we are so well  
perswaded of the good mind  
of our Apostle S. Gregory to us,  
that we desire no other thing  
to be suggested to the Pope,  
and his Cardinall, then our  
pastle S. Gregory desired Sab-  
ian to suggest unto the Em-  
perour, and the State, in his  
name. His words be these.  
The thing there is, of which I would  
have you shortly to suggest to your most  
honorable Lord and Master: That if I his  
vassant would have had my hand in  
the bringing of the Lombards, at this day the  
kingdom of the Lombards had neither had  
king, nor dukes, nor earles, and had  
been divided asunder in utter confusion,  
because I feare God, I dread to  
give my hand in the blood of any man.  
And, thus having answered  
G to S.

An answer  
to the au-  
thority,  
out of Let

S. Gregory, I come to another Pope, his Apostle, S. Leo. And that he may see I have not in former citations, quarelled him like a Sophister for content sake, But for finding out the truth, I do grant, that authorities out of *Leo*, are rightly alleadged all three, words truly set down, together with his true Intent and purpose. But withall, let me him, and I appeal unto owne conscience. whether speak not truly, what *Tullie* said to *Hortensius*, when he did immoderately praise quence, that he would lift her up to Heaven, that self might have gone up with her; So his S. *Leo* lift up *Peter* with praises to the that, he being his heire, might have gone up with him.

*Leo primus  
in die as-  
sumpt. sua  
al Pontif.  
sermone 3.  
Leo Epist.  
89. ad E-  
pisc. Vien.  
Idem ibid  
cap. 2.*

*Cicero in  
Hort.*

For so he  
calleth  
himself. in  
sermon. i.  
de a. n.



is S. Leo was a great Orator, who, by the power of his Eloquence redeemed Rome from her, when both *Atlas*, and *Ginsericus*, would have burnt Ex brevicio Romae.

Some fruits of this Rhetorick were bestowed upon S. Peter, saying, *The Lord did take Peter into the fellowship of the indivisible unity*: which words being coupled to the sentence alleged by the Cardinal (*that he hath no part in the divine Myserie, that dare depart from the solidarity of Peter*) should have given him, I think, such a scare as he should never have dared to have taken any advantage by the words immediately preceding, for the Benefit of the Church of Rome, and the Head thereof; since those which immediately follow, are so much  
G 2 derogatory

derogatory to the divin Majest  
 Epist. 52. And againe, My writings  
 strengthened by the authoritie

Epist. 89. merit of my Lord, most blessed  
 Peter We beseech you, to keep  
 things decreed by us through

In serm. 2. Inspiration of God, and the Apost  
 in die an- most blessed S. Peter. If any thi  
 niver. as- be well done, or decreed by us; If  
 sum. sua. thing be obtained of Gods mer

by daily prayers, it is to be ascrib  
 to S. Peters works and men  
 whose power doth live, and autho

Ser. 8. in 17 excell in his owne Sea. He  
 in die anni so plentifully watered of the  
 sum. sua. fountaine of all graces, that, wh

as he received many things al  
 yet nothing passeth over to

isher, but he was partaker of  
 And in a word, he was so de

rous to extoll S. Peter, Tha  
 messenger from him, was

Epist. 24. embassage from S Peter: any thi  
 Epist. 4. done in his presence, was

S. Pe



Peters presence. Neither did  
 he use all this Rhetoricke, with  
 out purpose: for, at that time,  
 the Patriarch of *Constantinople*  
 contended with him for Prim-  
 cie. And in the Councell of  
*Chalcedon*, the Bishops, sixe hund-  
 ed, and more, gave Equall  
 uthority to the Patriarch of  
 hat Sea, and would not admit  
 ny priviledge to the Sea of  
*Rome* above him; But went  
 gainst. And yet, he that gave  
 o much to *Peter*, took nothing  
 rom *Cæsar*; But gave him both  
 is Titles, and due, giving the  
 ower of calling a Councell, to  
 he Emperour; as it may  
 ppeare by these, one or two  
 laces following, of many.  
 f it may please your goodnesse, to  
 ouchsafe at our supplication to  
 ndescend, that you will com-  
 and a Council of Bishops

*Cor. 7.*

*Cha ced.*

*Act. 15. 7*

*1 An. 23.*

★

*Exist. 9.*

*Theod.*

Epist. 19.  
Flavianus.

Epist. 17.  
Theodosius.

to be holden within Italy. Writing unto the Bishop of Constantinople: Because the most clement person, carefull of the peace of Church, will have a Council to be holden; albeit it evidently appear, matter to be handled doth in case stand in need of a Council. again, albeit, my occasions will permit me to be present upon the of the Council of Bishops, wh your godlinesse hath appointed. So By this, it may well appear that he that gaue so much to Peter, gaue also to Cesar due and prerogative. But yet he playeth not fair play in this, that even in all these wrong applied arguments, and examples, he produceth no other witness, but the parties themselves; bringing ever the Popes sentence for approbation of their own authority.

Now indeed, for one wo



his in the midst of his exam-  
ples ; I cannot but greatly  
commend him ; that is , that  
Martyrs ought to Indure all  
sorts of tortures, and death, be-  
fore they suffer one syllable to  
be corrupted of the Law of  
God. Which lesson, if he & all  
the rest of his own profession  
would apply to themselves,  
then would not the Sacrament  
be administered *sub una specie*,  
directly contrary to Christs  
institution , the practice of  
the Apostles and of the whole  
Primitive Church, for many  
hundred years : then would  
not the private Masses be  
in place of the Lords Sup-  
per : then would not the  
words of the Canon of the  
Mass, be opposed to the  
words of Saint Paul and Saint  
John , as our Adversary  
him-

*Reste*

X

himself confesseth, and cannot reconcile them: nor would not so many hundred other traditions of men, be set up in their Church, not onely equal, But even preferred to the word of God. But sure, in this point, I fear I have mistak't him: for, I thinke, He doth not mean By his *Divina Dogma* the word of the God of heaven, But onely, the Canons and Laws of his *Dominus Deus Pater* otherwise, all his Primacy in the Apostolike Sea, would not be so much sticken upon, being so slender ground in the word of God.

And, for the great fear he hath, that, the suddenness of the apprehension; the bitterness of the persecution; the weakness of his age; and other such infirmities might have



have been the cause of the  
Arch-priests fall; In this, I have  
already sufficiently answered  
him; having declared, as the  
truth is, and, as the said *Black-*  
*ett* himself will testifie, that, he  
took this Oath freely of himself  
without any inducement there-  
unto, either *Precibus*, or *Minis*.

But amongst all his citations  
we must not forget holy *Sander-*  
and his *visibilis Monarchia*,  
whose person and actions I  
did already a little touch. And  
surely, who will with unpartiall  
eyes reade his Bookes, they  
may well think, that he hath  
deserved well of his English  
Roman-Church; But they can  
never think, but that he de-  
served very ill of his English  
Soveraigne, and State, Witnesse,  
his owne Books whereout, I have  
made choiceto set downe here

Some of  
Sanders  
his worthy  
sayings re-  
membered.

these few sentences following, as flowers pickt out of so worthy a garland Elizabeth, Queen of England doeth exercise the Priestly act of teaching and preaching the Gospel in England with no less authority, then Christ himself, or Moses ever did. The supremacy of a woman in Church matters, is from no other, then from the devil. And all things in general, thus he speaketh, The King that will not intromitt himself to the Popes authority, he ought not to be tolerated; but his Subjects ought to give all diligence, that another may be chosen in his place, as soon as may be. A King, that is an heretick, ought to be removed from the Kingdome that he holdeth over Christians; and, Bishops ought to endeavour to set another, as soon as possibly they can. We do constantly affirm, that all Christian Kings are so far under Bishops and Priests, in all matters appertaining to Faith, that, if they shall continue a fault against Christian Religion after one or two admonitions, obstinately, that case, they may, and ought to be

Sand. de  
visib. monarch. lib.  
6. cap. 4.  
Sand. de  
clau. David. lib. 6.  
cap. 1.

Sand. de  
visib. monarch. lib.  
2. cap. 4.

Ibidem.

Ibidem.



posed by the Bishops from their tempor-  
al authority they hold over Christians,  
Bishops, are set over temporall King-  
domes, if those Kingdomes do submit *Ibidem.*  
themselves to the faith of Christ. We  
do justly affirm, that, all Secular power, *Sand. de*  
whether Regal, or any other, is of men. *clau. Di-*  
the anointing, which is powerd upon *vid. lib. 5.*  
the head of the King by the Priest, doth *cap. 2.*  
declare, that he is inferiour to the Priest. *Ibidem.*  
is altogether against the will of  
Christ, that Christian Kings should  
have supremacie in the Church.

And whereas, for the Crown  
and conclusion of all his exam-  
ples, he reckoneth his two En-  
lish Martyrs, Meere, and Roffen-  
s, who died for that one most  
eightie Head of doctrine, as  
he alleadgeth, Refusing the  
Oath of Supreamacie; I must  
tell him, that he hath not been  
well informed in some material  
points, which do very neerly  
concern his two said Martyrs.  
This is clear, and apparently  
to

\* to be prooved By divers Records, that, they were both of them committed to the Tower about a yeere before either of them was called in question, on their lives, for the Popes premacie; And that, partly, for their backwardnesse in the point of the establishment of the Kings succession, whereunto the whole Realme had subscribed, and partly, for that one of them, to wit, *Fisher*, had had his hand in the matter of the holy maid of *Kent*; he, being guilty of his concealment of that false Prophets abuse, found guilty in misprison of treason. And these were the principall causes of their imprisonment (the King resting secure of his Supremacie, as the Realme stood then affected, But especially



troubled for setting the crowne  
upon the issue of his second  
marriage( so was it easily to be  
conceived, that, being thereup-  
on discontented, their humors  
were therby made apt to draw  
them By degrees, to further op-  
position against the King, and  
his authority, as Indeed it fel  
out. For, in the time of their be-  
ing in prison, the Kings lawfull  
authority in cases Ecclesiasticall  
being published and promulged,  
as wel by a general decree of the  
Clergie, in their Synode, as by an  
Act of Parliament made there-  
upon; they behaved themselves  
so peevishly therein, as the old  
coales of the Kings anger be-  
ing thereby raked up of new,  
they were againe brought in  
question; as wel, for this one  
most weighty head of doctrine,  
of

of the Pope his Supremacy, as for the matter of the Kings marriage and succession, as by the confession of one of themselves, even *Thomas More*, is evident. For, being condemned he used these words at the Barre before the Lords, *Non ignoscitur me morti ignoveritis; videlicet id, quod nunquam voluerim assensum in negotio matrimonii Regis.* That I am not ignorant why you have judged me to death: to wit, for that I would never consent in the business of the new marriage of the King. which his own confession it is plain that this great martyr himself took to be the cause of his own death, to wit, onely for his being refractory to the King in this said matter of Marriage, and Succession; which is but a very fleshly cause of Martyrdom as I conceive.

*Fisher*

And as for *Beffensis*, his fellow Martyr (who could have been content to have taken the Oath of the Kings Supremacie, with a certain modification, which *More* refused) as his imprisonment, was neither onely, nor principally, for the cause



f Supremacy, so died he, but a  
alting and singular Martyr, or  
Witness for that most weighty head  
f Doctrine; the whole Church  
f England going at that time, in  
ne current and stream, as it were,  
gainst him, in that argument, di-  
ers of them being of far greater  
putation for learning and sound  
udgement, then ever he was. So as  
at this point, we may well arm our  
elves with the Cardinals own  
ason, where he giveth amongst  
her notes of the true Church,  
niversality for one, we having the  
eneral and Catholique conclusion  
f the whole Church of England, on  
ur side, in this case, as appeareth  
y their Book set out By the whole  
onvocation of England, called,  
y Institution of a Christian; the  
me matter being likewise very  
arnedly handled By divers parti-  
ular learned men of our Church,  
s By Steven Gardiner in his Book  
vera obedientia, with a Preface of  
ishop Boners adjuyning to it, De  
mmo & absoluto Regis Imperio, pub-  
shed by M. Bekinsaw, De vera dis-  
ferentia

ferentia Regie Potestatis, & Ecclesiastica, Bishop Tonstals Sermon; Bishop Longlands Sermon; the letter of Tonstall to Cardinal Pool, and divers other, both in English and Latine. And, if the bitterness of Fishers discontentment had not been with his daily ambitious Expectation of the Cardinal's hat, which came so neer as *Calix*, before he put his head to fill it with, I have great reason to doubt, if he would have constantly persevered in enduring his Martyrdom, for that one mighty Head of Doctrine.

And surely, these two Captains and ringleaders to martyrdom were but ill followed By the rest of their Countreymen: for, I have never read of any after them, being of any great account, and there not many, that ever sealed the mighty Head of doctrine with their blood, in England. So as, the true causes of their first falling in trouble (whereof I have already made mention) being rightly considered, upon the one part; and upon the other, the scant number



of witnesses that with their blood sealed it; (a point so greatly accounted of, By our Cardinal) there can but small glory redound thereby, to our English nation, these only two *Enoch* and *Elisha*, serving for witnesses, against our Antichristian doctrine.

And I am sure, the Supremacie of Kings, may, and will ever be better maintain'd By the word of God (which must ever be the true rule, to discern all weighty Heads of doctrine by) to be the true and proper office of Christian Kings in their own dominions, then he will ever be able to maintain his annihilating Kings, and their authorities, together with his base and unreverend speeches of them, wherewith, both his former great Volumes, and his late Books against *Venice*, are filled. In the old Testament, Kings, were directly Governours over the Church, within their dominions; purged their corruptions; reformed their abuses; brought the Ark to her resting place, the King dancing before it; Built the Temple;

The Supremacy of Kings sufficiently warranted by the Scriptures.

2 Chron.

19. 4.

2 Sam. 5. 6. \*

2 Chron. 6. ple; dedicated the same, affixing  
 2 King. 22. in their own persons to the sancti-  
 11. fication thereof; made the Book  
 Neh. 9 38. the Law new-found, to be read  
 David. the people; renewed the Cove-  
 Solomon. nant between God and his people  
 2 Kings bruised the Brasen Serpent in pi-  
 18 4. ces, which was set up by the Expre-  
 1 Kings 15. commandment of God, and was  
 12. figure of Christ; destroyed all  
 2 Kings dols and false gods; made a public  
 13 4. reformation By a commission of  
 2 Chron 17 8. cular men, and Priests, mixed  
 1 Kings 2. that purpose; deposed the high  
 2 2. Priest, and set up another in  
 2 Sam. 7. place: and generally, ordered  
 14. ry thing belonging to the Church  
 Psal. 81 6. Government, their Titles  
 and Exod. 22 8. Prerogatives given them by God  
 1 Sam. agreeing to these their actions  
 24 11. They are called the *sons* of the  
 2 Chron. High, nay, Gods themselves;  
 9 8. Lords anointed; Sitting in Gods  
 2 Chron. throne; His servants; The Angels  
 6 15. God; According to his hearts desire  
 2 Sam. 14 20. The light of Israel; The nursing  
 1 Sam. 13. thers of the Church, with innume-  
 14. ble such titles of honor, wherewith  
 2 Sam. 21. the old Testament is filled; wherewith  
 17. the new Testament is filled; wherewith  
 12 19 23



of our adversary can pretend no ignorance. And, as to the new Testament, Every soul is commanded to be subject unto them, even, for conscience sake. All men must be prayed for; but especially Kings, and those that are in authority, that under them we may lead a godly, peaceable, and an honest life.

The Magistrate, is the Minister of God, to do vengeance on him that doth evil, and reward him, that doth well.

We must obey all higher powers, but especially Princes, and those that are super-

minent. Give every man his due; fear, whom fear belongeth; and honour to

him honour. Give unto Cesar what Cesar, and to God what is Gods.

*Regnum meum, non est hujus mundi.* *Quis me constituit Judicem super vos?*

*Reges gentium dominantur eorum, vos autem, non sic.* If these Examples,

sentences, titles and prerogatives, innumerable other in the old and

new Testament, do not warrant Christian Kings, within their own

dominions, to govern their Church as well as the rest of their people, in

being *Custodes utriusq; Tabulae*, not by

Rom. 13. 5.

1 Tim 2. 2.

Rom. 14 3

1 Pe. 2.

13.

Rom. 13 7.

Mat. 22.

21.

Ioh 18 36.

Luk 12. 14.

Luk. 22.

25.

by making new articles of Faith (which is the Popes office, as I have said before) but, By commanding obedience to be given to the word of God, By reforming the religion according to his prescribed will, By assisting the spiritual power with the temporal sword; By reforming of corruptions; By procuring obedience to the Church; By joining, and cutting off all frivolous questions and schismes, as *Constantine* did; and finally, By making *decorum* to be observed in all indifferent things, for that purpose which is the onely intent of the Oath of Supremacy: If this office of a King, I say, do not agree with the power given him by Gods word, let any indifferent man, void of passion, judge. But, how these honorable offices, styles, and prerogatives given by God to Kings in the old and new Testament, as I have now cited, can agree with the styles and titles that *Beſſarmine* gives them, I can hardly conceive.

*De lai-*  
*cap. 7.*

1. That Kings are rather slaves, Lords.

2. T



2. That they are not onely subjects  
Popes, to Bishops, to Priests, but  
en to Deacons. 2. De Pont.  
lib. 1.  
cap. 7.
3. That, an Emperour must content  
himself to drink not onely after a Bi-  
shop, but after a Bishops Chaplain. 3. Ibidem.
4. That, Kings have not their Au-  
thority & Office immediately from God,  
by his Law, but onely from the Law  
of Nations. 4. Ibidem,  
& de cler.  
cap. 28.
5. That, Popes have degraded many  
Emperours, But never Emperour degra-  
ded the Pope; nay, ever \* Bishops, that  
are but the Popes vassals, may depose  
Kings, and abrogate their laws. 5. De Pont.  
lib. 3. cap.  
16.  
De Rom.  
Pont. lib.  
5. cap. 8.
6. That, Church-men are so far above  
Kings, as the soul is above the body. 6. De lais-  
cis. cap. 8.
7. That, Kings may be deposed by  
their people, for divers respects. 7. De Pont.  
lib. 5. cap.  
18.
8. But, Popes can by no means be  
deposed: for, no flesh hath power to judge  
them. 8. De Pont.  
lib. 2. cap.  
26.
9. That, obedience due to the Pope,  
for conscience sake. 9. De Pont.  
lib. 4. cap.  
15.
10. But the obedience due to Kings,  
onely for certain respects of order, and  
policy. 10. De cle-  
ricis. cap.  
28.
11. That, these very Church-men  
are born, and inhabite in Soue-  
raign 11. Ibid.

raign Princes countreys, are notwithstanding, not their subjects, and can be judged by them, although they judgethem.

12. Ibid.

12. And, that the obedience Church-men give to Princes, even in meanest and meer Temporal things, not by way of any necessary subject, but onely, out of discretion, and for servation of good order, and custom.

These contrarieties between Book of God, and Bellarmines Book have I here set in opposition to other, *Ut ex contrariis juxta sitis, veritas magis elucescere possit.* thus farre I dare boldly affirm, whosoever wil indifferently w these irreconciliable contradictions here set down, will easily fess, that Christ is no more contrary to Belial, light to darkness, heaven to hell, then Bellarmines opinion of Kings, is to Gods.

Now, as to the conclusion of letter, which is onely filled with strong and pithy exhortation to perswade and confirm Black the patient and constant Ind of martyr dome, I have nothing answer, save by way of regrate



many good sentences drawn out  
the Scripture, so well and so  
wisdomely packed up together,  
could be so ill and untruly applied  
to an evil cause is never the better,  
nor so good a cloak; and an ill matter,  
ever the more amended by good  
words: And therefore, I may justly  
turn over that craft of the devil  
upon himself, in using so holy-like  
an exhortation to so evil a purpose.  
Only, I could have wished him, that  
he had a little better observed his  
*recorum* herein, in not letting slip  
two, or three prophane words a-  
mongst so many godly mortified  
scripture sentences. For, in all the  
scripture, especially, in the new  
testament, I never read of *Pontifex*  
*Maximus*. And the Pope must be  
content in that stile, to succeed ac-  
cording to the Law and institution  
of *Numa Pompilius*, and not to S. Pe-  
ter, who never heard nor dreamed  
of such an office.

And, for his *Caput fidei*, which I  
remembered before, the Apostles  
(I am sure) never gave that stile  
any, but to Christ. So, as these  
titles, whereof some were never  
found

found in Scripture, and some were never applied but to Christ, in the sense, as he applieth it, had been better to have been left out of a holy and mortified a letter.

To conclude then, this present discourse, I heartily wish, all indifferent readers of the *Breves*, and Letter, not to judge by the speciousness of the words, but, by the weight of the matter; not looking to the which is strongly alledged, but judiciously to consider, what is just proved; And for all my own good and naturall Subjects, that, their hearts may remain established in truth; that these forraign intimations may not seduce them from their natall and natural duety; and that all, aswell strangers, as naturall subjects, to whose eyes this discourse shall come, may wisely and unpartially judge of the Verity, it is nakedly here set down, clearing these mists and clouds of calumnies, which were unjustly heaped upon me; for which end only, I heartily pray the courteous Reader to be perswaded, that, I took occasion to publish this discourse.

**F I N I S .**

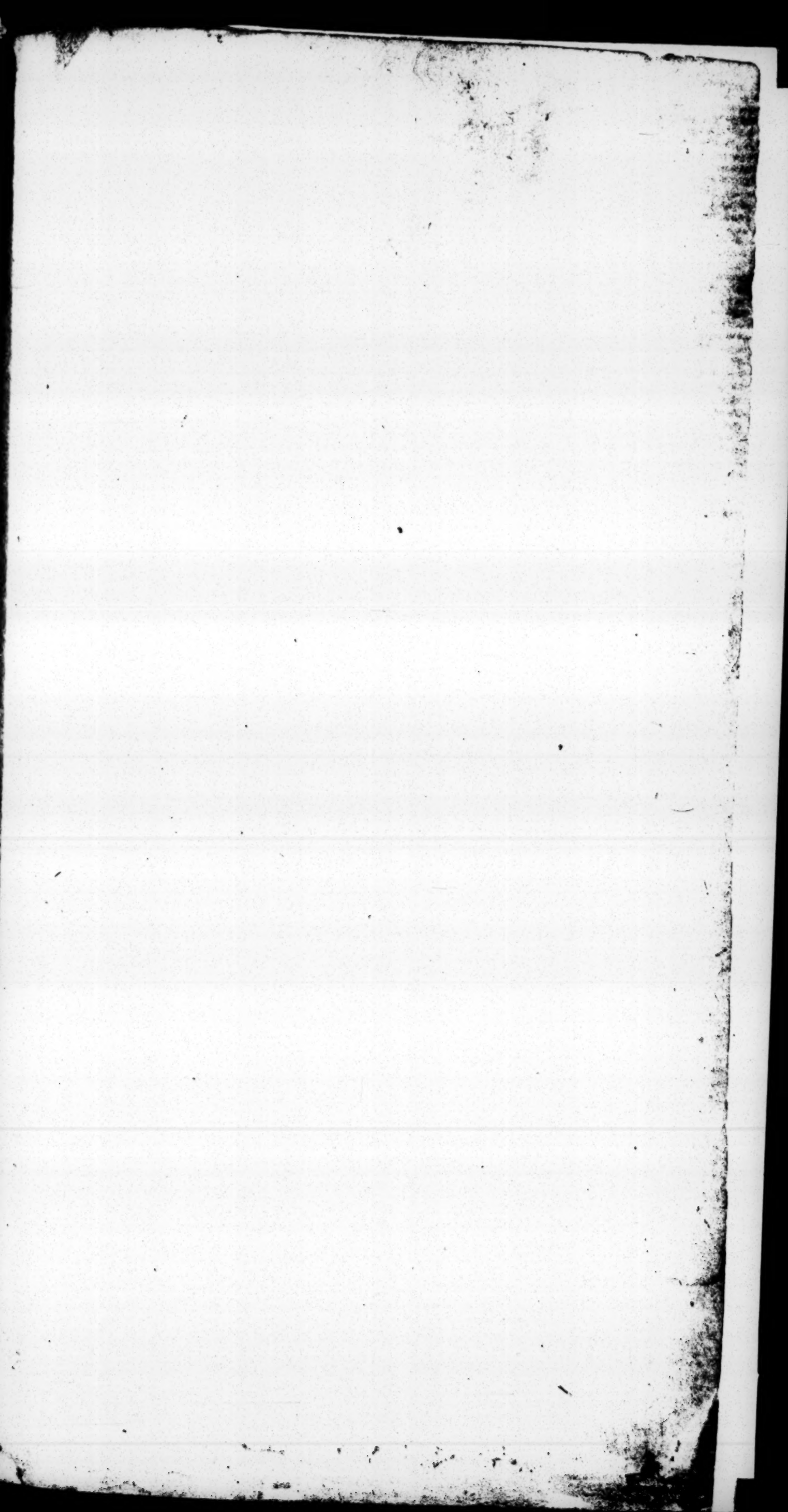
*Per Regi. 31. Dec. 1640.*

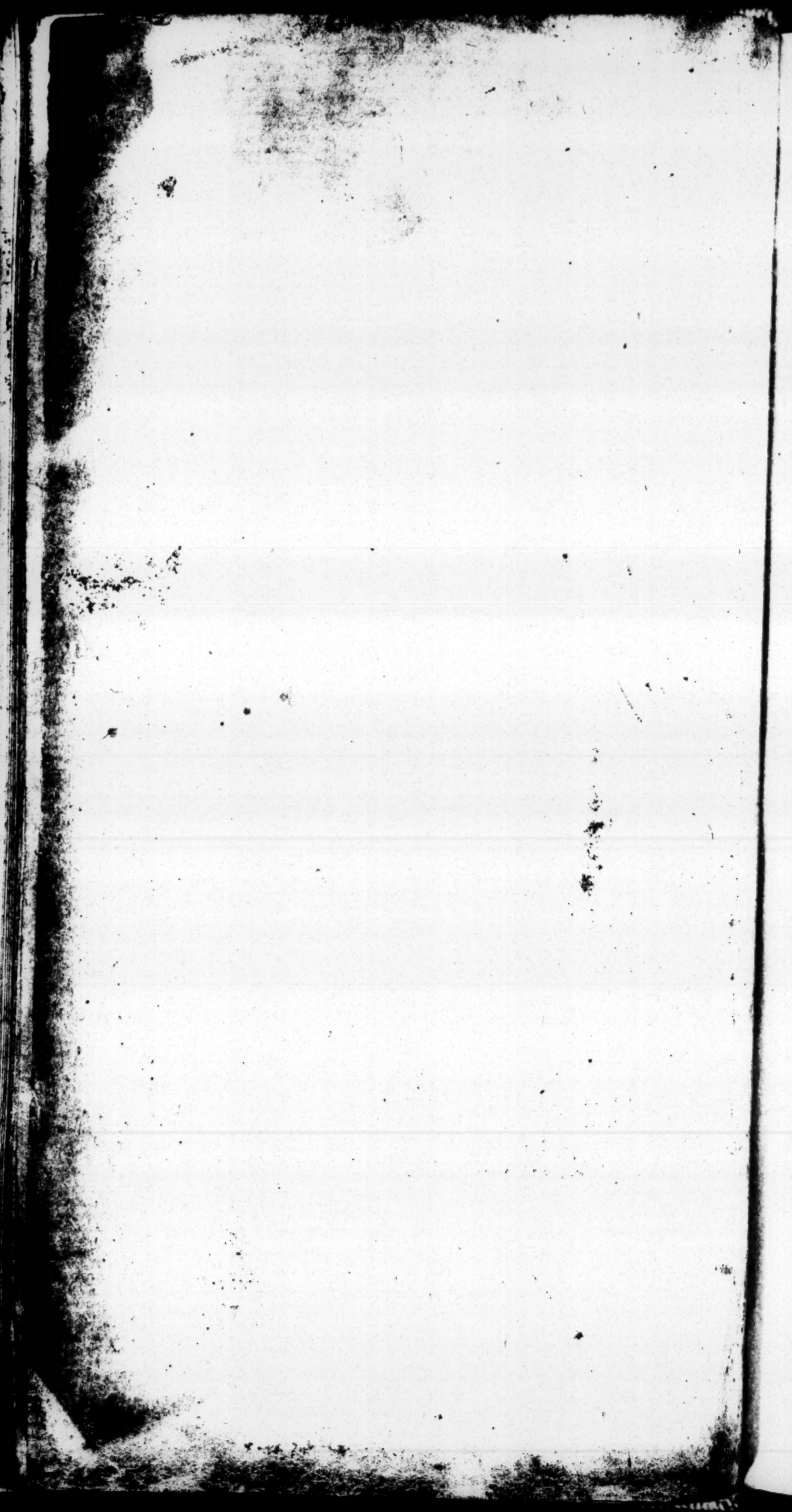




















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